

THE
HISTORY of the TURKISH,
OR
OTTOMAN EMPIRE,

FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1300,
TO THE PEACE OF *BELGRADE* IN 1740.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED
AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE
ON
MAHOMET AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

TRANSLATED *from the FRENCH of* MIGNOT, (r.) R.

BY A. HAWKINS, Esq.

QUIDQUID DELIRANT REGES, PLECTUNTUR ACHIVI.

HORAT. 1. *Epist.* 2.

V O L. I.

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T H E

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE English language, which can boast an history of almost every nation, possesses not a complete one of the Turks. Among the many excellent historians of the present day, it is surprising that not one of them has employed his pen on the subject of this extensive empire. In order to fill up the chasm, I have ventured to give a translation of a history by abbot Mignot, which, for style, authorities, and arrangement, is universally allowed to be the best that has made its appearance in any language. The access which the author had to the king of France's repository of foreign affairs, through favor of the duke of Choiseul, furnished him with the most authentic and interesting accounts of the Ottomans, and which must necessarily confer on his history a superiority over every other that has yet been published. The valuable

memoirs of baron Tott which have lately appeared, with the very important remarks on them by Mr. De Peyssonnel, late French-consul general at Smyrna, are corroborating proofs of the truth of the accounts given in this history of the laws, manners, customs, finances, and military force of this great nation.

As abbot Mignot is the nephew of the celebrated Voltaire, it is natural to suppose that his work underwent the examination of his uncle, prior to its publication, more particularly as it was printed before the death of that extraordinary genius, at which time the abbot copied, by his uncle's permission, his account of Charles XII.'s reception in Turkey.

How far the English translator has done justice to the French original, must be left to the determination of the public.

T H E

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THOUGH the Turks are regarded as barbarians, an opinion perhaps not destitute of foundation, I thought the knowledge of a great people, whose possessions extend over three parts of the world, and who have possessed an important influence over the politics of the whole state of Europe, would be an interesting subject to the lovers of history, and that, in order to obtain a thorough knowledge of mankind, it was requisite to be acquainted with their transactions. Naturalists observe all the species of animals from the elephant to the hand-worm, from the tiger to the dove. The differences that religion, climate, laws, government, may have introduced among mankind, merit the attention of those who are desirous of studying human nature; the more the manners and genius of

a people differ from ours, the more it is necessary to examine them, were it only to convince ourselves, that man is every where the same, and that all these dissimilarities, however important, may very well constitute the character of a nation, but never influence human nature taken in its physical sense; that the laws and variety of manners no more change our dispositions, than the different fashions of our garments alter the forms of our bodies. The history of the Turks furnishes as many conquests, fewer laws, less order, more revolutions, more proscriptions, and, upon the whole, more bloodshed, than that of any other people; but we perceive in it the same interests, passions, crimes, talents, and virtues, as influence every other part of the globe.

WHEN it shall be known that I am ignorant of the oriental languages, my undertaking perhaps will be thought presumptuous. As it is essential for an historian to gain the confidence of his readers for their particular interest, I should give mine an account of the sources from whence I have drawn my information. Besides the well known authors,
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such as Leunclavius, Ducas, the annals of the sultans, translated by Gaudier, Calcondilus and his continuators, prince Cantimir, Sagredo, Ricaut, the count of Marfigli, (whose ideas I have far from implicitly adopted) Baudouin, Boffio for the history of Malta, the memoirs of Montecuculli, those of prince Eugene, the history of Sobieski by abbot Coier, I have had the good fortune to find assistances which I had no reason to expect; they have determined me to undertake this work, of which, to speak properly, I am nothing more than the compiler. Mr. Cardonne, secretary interpreter to the king of France for the oriental languages, and professor of the Arabic tongue in the royal college, who has served the court, and the French commerce, in quality of druggerman, in several Turkish ports during twenty years, has taken the pain to translate the most interesting and instructive parts of the three Turkish annalists, Naïma Effendi, Rachid Effendi, and Tchelebi Zadé, which commence in the year 1594 of the Christian æra, and finish in 1727. He has been so obliging as to let me see his manuscript before it was deposited in the king's library. Mr. Bejault, keeper of the manuscripts

scripts of this library, has likewise been so kind as to intrust me with several translations of Turkish originals, which contain interesting parts of their history. Baron Tott, the son of a Hungarian nobleman, sent by the king of France to the Porte, and who has himself been intrusted with affairs in that court, on setting out to execute other commissions, has left me the remarks which a fifteen years residence at Constantinople, a spirit of observation, and a knowledge of the Turkish language, had enabled him to make.

THESE lights, so useful for my purpose, have made me anxious for the acquisition of more. I have taken the liberty of soliciting the duke of Choiseul, for permission to consult the correspondence of all the French ambassadors at the Porte, which is lodged in the repository of foreign affairs. The generous protection which this minister has constantly given to literature and to truth, has prevailed on him to grant my request. I have found in these manuscripts the most circumstantiated, most interesting, and least suspected details. For near two succeeding centuries, the ambassadors have given an account

count to their court, not only of the great events which have happened at the Porte, but even of the causes and the consequences of these events. We see these ministers act the most important parts in almost all the negociations of the Porte with the other powers; and when they were idle spectators, they considered themselves only as more obliged to examine the force, the interests, the intentions even of the power to whom they were sent; they penetrated by address and money into the cabinets of the viziers, and even into the council of the seraglio, in order that their master might be perfectly informed of what could interest him directly or indirectly. These dispatches have discovered to me, more than any thing else, the genius, the force, the resources, the manners, of that nation I was desirous to describe. I have reaped every possible advantage from this resource by a long and laborious application in researches in the repository of foreign affairs. It has given me hopes of diffusing an interest in my recitals. I shall have the merit at least of having sought after the truth, with all the attention, all the care, and all the impartiality, that could be expected

pected from one, whose aim has been to gain instructions for himself as well as others.

I WELL know there are a great many unbelievers in history. Some writers, who, disgusted with tiresome researches, have been desirous of reporting interesting fables, rather than real facts, may have authorised this mistrust. As to myself, I dare assert, that I have written nothing that has not received the strictest examination, and that I have taken more pains to guard against error, than the infidel historians have to conceal it.

AFTER the great exactness of this extensive narrative, in which I have endeavoured to include nothing that was not worthy a relation, I submit my work entirely to the judgment of my readers. To direct their opinion is, in my mind, to anticipate their rights. I write a history, and not a dissertation.

A N

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

O N

MAHOMET and his SUCCESSORS.

THE Arabians, an ancient people, descended from Ishmael according to some writers, forgot by degrees the God of their forefathers. Ignorance and weakness led them into superstition, from superstition into idolatry. Being left to the light of their reason, at first they worshipped the stars; to these alone they considered themselves indebted for the fruits of the earth; in a little time they made themselves idols of a workmanship equally rude with their arts. Before the time of Mahomet, this was only an ignorant nation, which immense deserts and the sea, by separating it from the rest of mankind, had concealed from the avidity of conquerors, or kept from their dominion. The whole world almost at that time was immersed in barbarism; even

Christianity had not softened men's manners, and the bosom of the Church was torn by different sects and heresies. The Jews, scattered over the face of the earth, equally the contempt of every nation where they went to enrich themselves, still possessed some hamlets on the confines of Arabia. The Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans, successively the luminary or the terror of the universe, were little better than barbarians; and, if there were any people free on the earth, it was because no one had possessed the courage or the talents necessary to enslave them.

Such was particularly the state of Arabia, when the empire of Mahomet, or rather that of the caliphs, arose. The false prophet laid only the foundation: his daring hands were aided by others still more industrious, who gave this edifice the dimensions and solidity requisite for its elevation and duration.

Mahomet, born at Mecca the 5th of May, in the year of Jesus Christ 570, of poor parents, though of consideration among the first of his tribe, lost in his tender infancy both father and mother. He was endowed by nature with exterior graces, great courage, and an immoderate ambition; but he was obliged, through poverty, to seek a livelihood by driving camels. He served several masters among his countrymen; at length he settled with a rich widow, called Cadisja. His attention and agreeable mien attracted

attracted this woman, who, charmed with her servant, presently conferred on him her hand. Mahomet was twenty-five years old when he was so fortunate as to please his mistress. He soon became one of the richest citizens in Mecca. Cadisja's passion increased by possession; Mahomet always treated her with that attention which gratitude seemed to require of him; and though she was older than her husband, he took no other wife during her life.

Mahomet, 'till he had reached his fortieth year, appeared occupied only about his commerce, and in contributing to the happiness and welfare of his benefactress; but his ambition gathered strength in this obscurity; he was illiterate, it is said, but assuredly he did not want talents. This camel-driver aimed at the subjection of his country. His ancestors had been at the head of the senate of Mecca, and one of his paternal uncles was still the chief of his tribe there. Mahomet would not have been contented with the premier rank where there were others that were his equals; he must have subjects, and even slaves. A Jew, with whom he had frequent conferences, and a Nestorian monk, expelled from his cloister, whom Mahomet met with in his Syrian journeys, persuaded him to subjugate mankind by opinion, and to lay the foundation of a new religion at Mecca. Mahomet had a great deal of audacity: his companions invented,

and he charged himself with the execution. Educated in the most profound ignorance, he had the boldness all of a sudden to declare himself a prophet. His masters, who passed for his disciples, composed a confused medley of the Christian and Jewish religions; threw some sparks of truth into an abyss of obscurity; agreed to announce a God eternal, incorporeal, infinite, source of all perfection and justice, a God who rewards and punishes, to these gross idolaters, who had been able to make for themselves, only Gods insensible and deaf.

Mahomet and his accomplices promised themselves much from the weight which evidence has on all mankind; but they meant to make use of truth, only to deceive with more certainty. A worship simple and pure would never have procured the impostor a throne; he would be king, legislator, and prophet; it was therefore necessary, in order to captivate, to have recourse to what was marvellous. The Jew furnished him with all the reveries of the Talmud; he persuaded him likewise to feign revelations, extacies, and conversations with God. Moses and Jesus Christ, he said, had been sent as prophets one after another, to enlighten mankind; but mankind had forsaken their ways. Mahomet, a greater prophet than either of them, affected a more extensive mission; he was come to announce greater truths. It was necessary to seduce,

seduce, and the impostor opened to his proselytes a Paradise of delights.

The Arabians, more sensual than any other people, were captivated by the senses. Mahomet offered them a felicity, such as they could comprehend and desire. Women, whose beauty was unfading, and who would never grow old; delicious gardens, a climate always temperate, a pure air, woods, fountains, meadows, evergreen trees, flowers exhaling a thousand perfumes, fruits of an exquisite taste, in short, all the delights of a terrestrial Paradise, displayed in emphatic descriptions, presented to the inhabitants of burning Arabia the most pleasing images, and an idea of happiness, such as ignorant people could paint to their imagination. Polygamy, which Mahomet authorised by his law, contributed greatly to its propagation; as he was desirous of reigning by force, he obliged the feeble sex to put up with an unjust lot, in order to procure himself proselytes, and particularly soldiers, a sort of apostles, on whom he relied still more than on the reveries of the Alcoran.* In order to adapt his law to the manners, wants, and desires of his countrymen, frequent washings, which are highly necessary among the burning heats and arid sands of Arabia, were ordered in the Alcoran as a practice indispensable.‡

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* *Al Coran* signifies, the scripture by excellence.

‡ As the Mussulmen think to recover their purity by washings, they have recourse to them several times a day, before they go to prayer.

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE

This book, which Mussulmen consider as the only one divine, was neither composed by the same hand, nor at the same time. The disorder and inequality which reign throughout, and the perpetual medley of maxims and facts which oppose one another, prove that different circumstances and necessities were the occasion of each chapter. Whenever it was necessary to prevent some contradiction, or do away some prejudice, the Angel Gabriel brought an order on purpose from God. The collection of these chapters was not made 'till after the death of Mahomet.

Meanwhile the prophet's mission manifested itself by degrees. His relations and slaves were his first disciples. Cadisja, his wife, had no difficulty to believe him a prophet whom she looked upon already as a God. But Mahomet experienced at first in the bosom of his country, the persecutions which every novator must expect. He called himself the envoy of God and the instrument of his power. His republican countrymen had no inclination to acknowledge a master, more absolute than the most powerful potentate. It was still much worse when he pretended to have had, like Moses, conversations with God, and wanted to give his new disciples the relation of his pretended journey into the seven Heavens.

This absurd fiction, made, according to Mahomet and his friends, to give him, among the
Mecchese,

Mecchese, all the marks of legislator and envoy from God, irritated at first the small number of sensible people, who saw only disgusting puerilities in a fable so badly made; but it enraged still more the multitude, jealous of their liberty, which the prophet attacked, and of their idolatry, which he wanted to subvert. And indeed, Angels with seventy-two heads, in the mouth of each of which were seventy-two tongues, who spoke all at the same time each seventy-two different languages; a celestial spirit in the human form of such a prodigious size, that the distance from one eye to the other was [ninety days journey; a cock, whose feet rested on the second Heaven, who hid his head in the third, at the distance of five hundred days journey the one from the other, and whose crowing was heard by every living creature except man: so many wonders of this nature would have enchanted ignorant, enthusiastic Idolaters, if other absurdities, which had been longer respected, had not been contradicted by them.

Be that as it may, Mahomet's most zealous disciples were soon driven from Mecca, and fled to Medina, a town of Arabia, about two hundred and ten miles from Mecca. Notwithstanding his flight, Mahomet's family supported his interest for some time in his country. Medina was full of Jews and Christians, who had some authority there. The latter being informed that
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there was a man persecuted at Mecca for having attempted to subvert the idols, for having announced a God infinite and incorporeal, a God who rewards good actions and punishes bad ones, for having said that Jesus was the envoy of God, son of the virgin Mary, they thought, or rather hoped, to find a supporter of Christianity, in him, who thought only of its subversion. Several Medinese hastened to Mecca, where Mahomet was tolerated with difficulty through the credit of some powerful relations, who, without believing him a prophet, protected his imposture. It was in favor of these abused Christians, that we see those encomiums on Christianity in the first chapters of the Alcoran. Mahomet invented the fast called the ramazan, in order to imitate the lent of the Christians,* as he borrowed of the Jews, or even of the Arabians, who likewise used it, the circumcision, the gift of tenths, which he bestowed on the poor, and the abstinence from swine's flesh. The Mussulmen still observe the ramazan with as much austerity as the Faithful their lent in the Roman catholic church; for they take no kind of food 'till after sun-set, even when this lunar month happens in the longest days of the summer. As to the gift of tenths, it
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* The ramazan is the ninth month of the Turkish year. As their year is composed of twelve lunar months, and is consequently near eleven days less than the solar, this month falls successively on all the seasons of the year.

being a voluntary act, many find means to evade it, though in general the Mussulmen are very charitable.

Mahomet soon made profelytes of these lovers of novelty, who knew very little of the religion of their forefathers. Many Christians of Medina took the oaths to him, as the envoy of God and their lawful sovereign. From that time the impostor determined on uniting the priesthood and the empire; he thought, with reason, that the two swords would have more force in the same hand. The blind zeal with which his followers devoted themselves to him raised up the hatred of the Mecchese, who saw, with terror, a monarchy raising among them on the foundation of fanaticism: they attempted the life of Mahomet, become too powerful to be punished as a common criminal; the prophet's house was invested; he fled, leaving Ali, his cousin and one of his first disciples, in the chamber where the Mecchese thought to take him.

Several parties pursued the prophet from Mecca. Being hidden in a cavern on the Medina road, he pretended afterward to have escaped by a miracle the search of his enemies. Tradition says, that in the middle of a thick old forest, trees sprang up all of a sudden from the earth, to spread their branches over the entrance of the prophet's retreat; that spiders webs, hanging from these trees, persuaded his pursuers,

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without doubt negligent or credulous, that no one had passed that way for a long time. This was the prodigy which the impostor thought to oppose to those who demanded supernatural proofs of his mission; but he soon found means to provide himself with more convincing ones. His party increased at Medina; he reduced by force of arms this town, in which at first he had seemed to ask only a place of shelter; he exacted from his proselytes a solemn oath, to spread by fire and sword the Mussulman faith, or Islamism; this word signifies in Arabic, the true faith.

Mahomet, being established in Medina, built a mosque,* and made a regular form of worship. He explained his law himself, and said public prayers every day.§ After having fought the Arabians without the city, who were united in troops against him, and given the example of carnage against caravans, which he lay wait for near the walls of Medina, he returned into the mosque, blessed the people with his bloody hands, and exhorted them to massacre Infidels, in order to offer agreeable sacrifices to God. Two dogmas, often repeated by Mahomet, contributed to render his soldiers formidable. First, no one, according to the Alcoran, can escape his destiny; all

* This is the name which Mahomet gave his temples.

§ The public prayers are said before sun-rising, and after sun-set. Two others may be said apart, at noon, and before sun-set, and a third in the night, before the first watch.

all predestination is inevitable; and the man, whose days are not complete, will receive unhurt a shower of arrows from a whole army: when he, whose fatal term is arrived, shall never escape death by any precaution whatsoever: thus, the true Mussulmen abuse the principle of God's prescience, and don't think themselves in more danger in the most bloody battle, than at an entertainment, or in their beds. Their second incitement to courage is the solemn promise of the prophet, that those, who are killed fighting against the Infidels, shall be martyrs, and admitted into the Paradise of delights, whatever crimes they may have committed. Men strongly prepossessed with such errors must needs be invincible. Mahomet's successors profited infinitely more than their prophet by this sanguinary enthusiasm, which raised ferocious soldiers to the rank of apostles and martyrs, and compelled all those that were deaf to persuasion.

Mahomet had lost his wife, before he left Mecca. He married his only remaining daughter by his dear Cadisja to his cousin Ali. She was called Fatima. It is from her this numerous posterity of men is descended who are all called emirs, and who, in the Mahometan countries, have alone the privilege of wearing green turbans, as descendants of the prophet. After the death of Cadisja, Mahomet's passion for women appeared without constraint. He first married

Aiefa, the daughter of Abubeker, one of his first disciples, and who was his immediate successor. Aiefa was as yet but a child: nature is excessively forward in the burning Arabia, particularly in respect to puberty. Mahomet did not consummate his marriage 'till a year after, when Aiefa had attained her ninth year; and, before that period, the prophet took a great liking to the wife of Zeid, formerly his slave, and since his adopted son.

This circumstance rendered Mahomet's proceedings incestuous in the eyes of the Arabians, who considered the laws of adoption as sacred as those of nature, and abhorred incest greatly. The impostor procured from Heaven a chapter of the Alcoran, which consecrated this crime. Zeid repudiated his wife with joy; he loved, he respected Mahomet, beyond every other consideration. The false prophet made use of the authority of the Alcoran to have publicly fifteen wives at a time, though he allowed his followers but four.* The author of the law knew how to form

* The rigid Mussulmen take only four wives or female slaves; others take four lawful wives, and as many female slaves as their fortunes will support. Nevertheless, the major part have but one wife, owing to the difficulty of maintaining a greater number. Divorces, though allowed the Mussulmen, are rather uncommon on account of the conditions prescribed by the Mahometan laws. They may repudiate their wives, and take them again, as often as three times; but the third time, they must marry another man, sleep with him, and be repudiated, before they return to their first husband. When the repudiated wife is not guilty of incontinency, her husband restores her

form it to his weakneſſes : that which Mahomet had all his life time for the fair-sex can only be equalled by his ambition. Not contented with ſuch a number of wives, he could not reſiſt the ſight of ſeveral fine ſlaves that his proſelytes brought him from all parts, or that he took in war. Having been caught with a young female captive by two of his wives; in order to ſtifle their reproaches, he inſerted in his Alcoran a permiſſion for every Muſſulman to make uſe of his ſlaves.

This inconstant huſband was not ſecure from a ſort of vengeance which his conduct ſeemed to authoriſe from his irritated wives. Aieſa, whom he loved beyond all the reſt, was caught in adultery. The haughty prophet, every way ſenſible of the affront, was not at a loſs how to conceal it: he had again recourſe to the voice of God. The Alcoran declared Aieſa innocent; but, to prevent in future even the ſuſpicion of ſuch a crime, another chapter forbade all the Muſſulmen, eſpecially the prophet's friends, ever to ſpeak to his wives, or to ſtop in his houſe, either after repaſt, or in his abſence. It is principally owing to the conduct of Aieſa, the jealouſy of Mahomet, and his contempt for a ſex to whom his paſſions made him ſubmit in ſpite
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her portion to her, and is obliged to give her a dower. When it is the wife who requires the divorce, on account of impotency, bad treatment, or the reſuſal of conjugal devoirs, ſhe loſes her dower. The children born of lawful wives, or of concubines, are equally legitimate, and inherit all the ſame. The girls however have only half the portion of the boys.

of himself, that the Mahometan women are indebted for all the rigours which the Alcoran prescribes them. After the example and according to the precepts of their legislator, the Mussulmen use their wives as some savage Idolaters do their domestic Gods: they load them with presents, shut them up, praise, misuse, and adore them.†

Mahomet has not carried the absurdity, as some writers have accused him, so far as to deny a soul to that sex whom he seemed to love and hate in the same breath. He promises, both to the men and women, punishments and rewards in the world to come. In entering deeply into the spirit of the Alcoran, we clearly perceive that these pleasures of the senses, of which Mahomet presents such a number of pleasing images, are only the additional felicity of his elect. The sight of him, who bestows all these things, is better than the things themselves, say the devout Mussulmen: to enjoy the presence of God then must be the principle of their felicity. Hell, in the Alcoran, is, by the reason of contraries, a place of physical suffering, described with as much energy as Paradise. But these punishments will
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† Cum viros mulieribus præesse Deo placuit, ut ipsi corrigant eas cum quibus suam expenderent pecuniam, ipsæque Deum invocent, et maritis pareant, et eorum secreta sibi commissa celent jus æquum postulat. Quæ si fortè præcepta non observaverint, à vobis correctæ et castigatæ in domibus lectivæ detentæ verberentur, usquequo vestris nutibus atque præceptis pareant. Chap. ix, intituled *Azara de Mul.*

be eternal, only for those who have not been Mussulmen. The true Believers (it is thus Mahomet terms them) will expiate their crimes by punishments more or less lasting, more or less rigorous ; and, after expiations proportionable to their offences, they will enjoy the reward of their faith.

One of the most essential and most transgressed of Mahomet's laws is the absolute prohibition to drink wine. Its use was more dangerous in Arabia than any other climate. The Arabians, more susceptible of drunkenness, on account of the heat of their blood, and the strength of the liquor, more fermented than in any other country, abandoned themselves, without reserve, to a pleasure that almost always became fatal. Inebriation would have hurt subordination, the essence of Mahometanism, and that exterior gravity which the prophet required from his followers. Those, who have collected the principal passages of the life of Mahomet, relate, that, as he was passing through a village in Arabia, he saw an assembly of peasants, heated with wine, celebrating a wedding ; they appeared all in the greatest gaiety and on the best of terms ; they laughed, they embraced each other : the joy and concord of these happy people drew the attention of the prophet, who amused himself some time with the sight ; but the evening of the same day, as he repassed through the place, he saw the earth covered

vered with blood, and was told that all this gaiety had changed into a quarrel, in which several of them had lost their lives, and that these people, so gay and peaceable, were become irreconcilable enemies. From that instant, they say, Mahomet resolved to forbid the use of wine to all his proselytes. In order to give more weight to this law, it was necessary to relate absurdities, which, to the Arabians, were miracles.

According to the Alcoran, two Angels, descended from Heaven on earth, in human forms, stopped at a young beautiful widow's to request of her a retreat. During the repast, she presented them with wine; they drank of it to such excess, that, forgetting the laws of decency and hospitality, they attempted to ravish this woman who had so generously entertained them. The widow, after a long resistance, promised, if they would carry her to Heaven, she would grant every thing on her return. The Angels consented; but, as soon as she was arrived there, she complained to God of the incontinence of these two sots, who, to allay their fire, were condemned to be suspended by the feet in Hell 'till the last day of judgment, when their penitence is to end. This is but a small sample of the fables of the Alcoran. It was with similar histories, and numerous armies, that so many millions of men, and so many empires, were subjugated.

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After the hegira*, that is, after the flight to Medina, Mahomet turned his whole attention to the extending of his law by force of arms. Perplexed with the numerous difficulties which surrounded him, he told his disciples, that he was not come to dispute but to fight; that the power of God, which he announced, ought to be manifested by the courage of his ministers, and by rapid successes.

The arms of the prophet were more powerful than his sermons. All his neophytes became soldiers. The hope of a rich booty, or an eternity of delights, soon ranged a vast number of people under his standard. The impostor made himself formidable to his countrymen of Mecca. After much blood spilt, and the taking of several towns, the Mecchese concluded a truce for ten years, during which the prophet was to have liberty to come unarmed in pilgrimage to their temple. This temple, built, according to an ancient tradition, by Ishmael, was universally revered; a black stone was particularly venerated there, which the Angels, as they said, had brought white to that edifice, and the sins of mankind had
d blackened.

* This Mahometan epoch begins Friday the 16th of July 622: their year is of twelve lunar months, and has 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes; so that 33 of our years make 34 of theirs and 6 days. It is this epoch which has rendered Friday the solemn day of the week among the Mussulmen, as Sunday is among the Christians, and Saturday among the Jews. This choice moreover agreed with the usage of the Arabians, who had their assemblies on that day.

blackened. Though in process of time the temple of Mecca had been filled with idols, Mahomet proclaimed that he was sent, not to establish a new law, but to reform that which the Idolaters had polluted, and wished to honor more and more this sacred edifice which had been so long revered. He made a pilgrimage thither, and sacrificed sixty-three camels, being the number of years he had lived, which, joined to the thirty-seven sacrificed by Ali, made the number a hundred*. He performed exterior ceremonies there, which became as many precepts for his disciples. He ordered, that every Mussulman should visit the temple of Mecca, at least once in his life. This temple was called the Caaba, which, in Arabic, signifies Square.

The great care which Mahomet took to render Mecca the chief place of his religion, should have convinced its inhabitants that he would neglect nothing to possess himself of it. His arms became more formidable every day; and when he lost a battle, which seldom happened, the prophet attributed the want of success to the sins of his soldiers,

* Besides the sacrifices which the Mussulmen make in their pilgrimage to Mecca, they make others likewise in expiation and in actions of grace. These sacrifices are generally of sheep by the rich, and of doves by the poor. Mahomet borrowed these ceremonies from the Arabians, or the Jews. But he changed the destination of the sacrificed flesh. Among the Jews it turned to the profit of the priests, or was consumed in honor of the Deity. The Mahometan pilgrims make merry together on the sacrificed flesh in their journey from Mecca, and distribute the surplus to the indigent. In their other sacrifices, all the sacrificed flesh is distributed to those who are in want.

soldiers, who, he asserted, were always purified by the blood which they spilt, but whose sins were still the cause of his failure. He owed to this persuasion, and especially to the weakness and divisions of the Arabians, the rapid conquests which he made in less than ten years in Arabia. The neighbouring princes, who had formed little sovereignties from the ruins of the Roman empire, and were mostly Christians, either submitted to his authority, or sought his alliance. He put a personal tax on each of their subjects who did not embrace the Mahometan faith. This custom still subsists among all the sovereigns who acknowledge the Alcoran. Every reputed Infidel pays the prince a poll-tax, over and above the other imposts, which he supports as the rest of the subjects, and lives in other respects according to his religion and civil laws, which don't extend far on account of their defectiveness.

In the course of his conquests, the impostor was like to lose his life by an accident that should have unmasked him to all his followers. In one of those towns which he had lately conquered, a young girl, whose brother Mahomet had caused to be put to death, undertook his revenge; she served up to the prophet a shoulder of mutton impregnated with a subtle poison. Being warned, not by any divine science, but by the bad taste of the meat placed before him, Mahomet threw up what he had taken of it; but he could not pre-

vent all the effects of the poison, which had mixed with his blood, and gave him violent convulsions. The girl confessed the truth, saying, that she had resolved to know if Mahomet were a prophet, or only an impostor. She was delivered to the parents of a young man, who, having eaten more of the meat than Mahomet, had died immediately. They avenged, in the blood of the homicide, the loss of their son. But the prophet never thoroughly recovered from this pretended proof; he languished three years, without relaxing his ambition, without being less vigilant, less intrepid, less a hypocrite, or less voluptuous.

During the truce, the Mecchese attempted to succour a town besieged by Mahomet's soldiers. The prophet armed in haste against them, looking on the truce as broken. His forces, by the hope of booty, by persuasion, or by fear, augmented every day. He became in 630, the eighth year of the hegira, the despotic sovereign of his native city, from which he had been driven some years before. Being now master of this famous temple, so venerated by his proselytes, he broke in pieces the numerous idols there, and pretended to restore to the temple of one sole God all its purity, by causing all the reveries of the Alcoran, and the absurd signs of his mission, to be said in it.

Mahomet would soon have been sovereign of all Arabia, if his example had not produced two other impostors, prophets, warriors, and legislators, like himself;

himself, who thought to take advantage of the weakness of the Arabians and of their love of novelty. Molozeima and Alasvaad, both Musulmen, attempted at the same time in distant provinces to subdue the people in their own name, and to give them new laws. These enterprizes, made by two brave and learned men, imbittered Mahomet's latter days, and shook his throne.

The impression of the poison, which he had not been able to eradicate, after three years made rapid progress. He sent his lieutenants against these formidable rivals, and, before his death, had the satisfaction to see himself rid of one of them. Alasvaad, betrayed by his wife and relations, who sold him to Mahomet, was assassinated in his own house. But the fall of the more redoubtable Molozeima, who had already conquered some Arabian towns, was reserved for the prophet's first successor.

At length this fortunate impostor died, in the 11th year of the hegira, the 633d of Jesus Christ, at Medina, which he had made his capital, aged upwards of 63 solar years, after having deceived, fought, and reigned, twenty-three years in almost every part of Arabia. Mahomet's historians, in publishing his impostures, have particularly extolled his genius. Circumstances contributed much to his glory; without doubt he was indebted a great deal to his audacity, to his patience

tience in his proceedings, and to his warlike talents; but if he was the founder of the powerful empire of the caliphs, and of an extended religion, those, who placed the Alcoran in his mouth, and arms in his hands, who combined how far the credulity of the Arabians might be counted on, and who shewed them some truths to gain credit to a thousand falsities, contributed more to exalt the glory of Mahomet, than his ignorance, incontinency, and severity, could hurt him. The greatest success of Mahometanism was not 'till after the death of the prophet. He had fought to possess himself of some cities: his successors enslaved provinces and kingdoms, and the Musfulman law was much more respected, because its author no longer displayed to the eyes of the people a scandalous conduct, which it had been often necessary to justify.

Mahomet was no more, and his most zealous disciples would not allow that he had paid the debt to nature. As soon as the prophet had breathed his last, Omar, whose daughter he had married, in order to deceive the people, made use of the most convincing argument that Mahomet had ever employed during his life; he drew his sword, and swore, that he would exterminate all those who should dare advance that the prophet was dead. The multitude, who feared and respected Omar, were inclined to believe what he said; when Abubeker, another of
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the prophet's fathers-in-law, exclaimed: Do you then worship Mahomet, or the God of Mahomet, who alone is infinite and immortal? If it is true that our prophet was but a man like us, why should he have been exempted from the universal law? And he proved by the Alcoran that Mahomet had often repeated himself that he should die. This discourse convinced Omar and all the Mussulmen, whom the sight of the dead body had not been able to undeceive. Mahomet was interred with much solemnity in the very same place where he died. The visit to his tomb is still the most celebrated pilgrimage among the Mussulmen, after that of Mecca.

The sceptre seemed to belong to Ali, the prophet's nearest relation, his only son-in-law, and his oldest disciple, he who had the first exposed his life for the preservation of his master's. But Aiesha, the daughter of Abubeker, Mahomet's most beloved wife, though she whom he had had most reason to complain of, always remembered, that at the time when the Angel Gabriel had brought from Heaven a chapter of the Alcoran to wash her of the crime of adultery, Ali had raised difficulties in the mind of Mahomet, and had exposed his cherished wife to a thousand domestic chagrins, and to the anger of an irritated husband, when at the same time the air was resounding with the conviction and proof of her innocence. Aiesha seized this occasion to be revenged. In
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the prophet's last days, she persuaded him to appoint Abubeker, her father, to say public prayers, and do the other functions of the priesthood, which, 'till then, Mahomet had always executed himself. After his death, Aiesha and her friends endeavoured to persuade the people, that the prophet intended Abubeker for his successor. This opinion gained ground; Aiesha's most zealous partisans took the oaths to her father, without waiting for an unanimous consent. Omar and his friends declared themselves likewise for Abubeker: in less than two days, all the Medinese, and all the strangers that were in the city, ranged themselves under his standard: they called him caliph; this title, in Arabic, signifies vicar. Ali himself subscribed afterward to this choice; he acknowledged his rival for his master. But since, his followers regard this election, and the two subsequent ones, as so many usurpations. This is still the ground of a great schism among the Mussulmen. The Persians, and several other people, regard Ali as the immediate successor of the prophet.

Abubeker.

Abubeker knew how to use the two swords which Mahomet had left in his hands: he carefully collected the scattered chapters of the Alcoran, which the prophet seemed to have abandoned as soon as they had produced the desired effect. The caliph arranged them as we see them

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at this day, without any chronological order or analogy of matter. The Arabians were incapable of so much method; the confusion which reigns in each of these chapters prevails likewise in their arrangement. This book, full of bold images, sage precepts, puerile stories, and false ideas, bespeaks the work of divers hands, and that its authors have rather endeavoured to beguile enthusiasts, than to enlighten mankind. Abubeker, in order to give greater credit to his religion, resolved to collect the memorable speeches and remarkable actions of Mahomet. This book, which, after the Alcoran, is the most respected among the Mussulmen, is called the Sunna.

Whatever might be the glory which the prophet enjoyed during his life, his successors found means to make it still greater after his death. The sole name of Mahomet raised in the hearts of all his followers an ardour, and a courage, which rendered them invincible. Abubeker, by putting the Mussulmen in mind of their having heard the voice of the prophet from that same pulpit from whence he was speaking, rendered them as many heroes. With this precious enthusiasm, he destroyed the party of Mozoléima, the last of his master's rivals. He completed the subjection of Arabia; conquered the kingdom of Irac, and Syria beyond Damascus; and defeated, in person, or by his lieutenants, several numerous armies of the emperor Heraclius. A-

bubeker reigned only two years and four months. During this short space, he reduced more countries to the Mussulman law, than its founder had in all his life. The empire of the caliphs, already formidable to the Greeks and all Asia, passed without opposition into the hands of Omar, whom Abubeker, at his death, chose for his successor. This last joined to the title of caliph, that of commander of the Faithful, which his successors retained.

Omar.

The new caliph saw, in his reign, the Mussulman power grow up. He never appeared at the head of the army. Contented with the functions of the priesthood and the throne, he remained quiet at Medina, giving law to his empire, whilst his generals conquered Palestine, the rest of Syria, all Egypt, Tripoli in Africa and its territory, and a great part of Barca, of Korazan, of Armenia, and of Persia. No one knew better than Omar, how to take advantage of this blind obedience which the Mussulmen had devoted to their caliphs. The generals that Omar superseded at the head of numerous armies, respectfully obeyed the orders from Medina, and became the lieutenants of their successors. The caliph, thoroughly persuaded that ignorance and error could alone retain this obedience, burnt the famous library of Alexandria, which owed its foundation to the Ptolomys. If these books, said Omar, contradict
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the Alcoran and Sunna, they should be destroyed; if they be conformable thereto, what occasion have we for them? our law is sufficient for us. After a reign of ten years, Omar was assassinated by a slave whose complaints he had refused to hear. The murderer killed himself to avoid a more cruel death. Omar did not expire till three days after he received his wound. He refused to name his successor; but he remitted his right to six companions of the prophet, who were still living around him. Ali was of this number; he tried in vain to obtain from the five others, what he believed to be his heritage. The enemies that Aiesha had raised against him, the veneration which the Mussulmen shewed for her of all the prophet's widows whom he had most loved, the daughter of their first caliph, kept, once more, from the see of Mahomet, him of all his disciples who had best served his master. Ali joined, against his will, the five who refused him the supreme power, to confer it on Othman, like himself, a companion of the prophet, but whom Omar had declared unworthy of the califate to every one who had proposed him for his choice.

Othman imitated his predecessor in not ap-
 Othman.
 pearing at the head of the army. His generals completed the conquest of Korazan and Persia; they overturned the throne of the latter, and had the last of its kings put to death; took the isle of Rhodes; entered into Nubia; carried on a war
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against the Greek emperor, and drove him out of Alexandria, which he had retaken. But whilst they were extending the bounds of the empire, the caliph gave himself up to a shameful effeminacy, and to all the excess of despotic government: instead of imitating his predecessors, who led a simple, frugal life, and distributed every Friday to the Mussulmen what was left of the treasure, reserving for themselves only about a shilling of our money a day, Othman superseded provincial governors, appointed by Omar, by Abubeker, and even by Mahomet himself, to provide for his flatterers, on whom he lavished treasures, the fruits of conquests that neither he nor they had made.

This conduct raised up malecontents, who in a little time became rebels and scattered sedition throughout the empire. The Arabians came in a great number to encamp near Medina, from whence they sent their chiefs to the caliph, to signify to him, that he must either re-instate the superseded governors and banish his favorites, or resign the sceptre. The unhappy caliph, trembling for his life, obeyed these rebels, whom it would have been necessary to chastise; he mounted the pulpit, promised to reform his conduct, deposed the governors who displeased, and named the chiefs of the sedition to replace them. This condescension seemed to appease the storm; the malecontents dispersed; each with an intention to

to enjoy the fruit of the rebellion. But the intriguing Aiesha meditated to become, a second time, the cherished wife of the commander of the Faithful. She wanted to place on the throne a young man called Telha, who had found means to please her; she bribed Othman's secretary, with whom she fabricated letters, sealed with the seal of Mahomet, and addressed to the superseded governors, which contained in substance, that, far from wishing them to obey the pretended letters which displaced them, Othman ordered them to seize on those who should present themselves to succeed them, cut off their feet and hands, and empale them. These false orders were so managed as to be intercepted by those who were to be the victims of them. The secretary's hand, and the seal which he had set to it, leaving no doubt of the authenticity of these letters, they returned furious to Medina, raised the people a second time, penetrated into the caliph's house, and massacred him unheard. His body remained three days exposed in the place where he had been murdered, after which he was buried without the least funeral honors. He had reigned near twelve years, and was eighty-two years old when he met with this miserable death. Before the assassination of the caliph, Aiesha had set out for Mecca, in order to prevent any suspicion's falling on her. This precaution did hurt to her intentions.

Othman

Ali.

Othman was no sooner dead, than every eye turned on Ali. His great courage, a perfect knowledge of the Alcoran, added to an old age exempt from infirmities, rendered him venerable to all the Medinese. His friends gave out, that he ought to have been the first successor of the prophet. Age had lessened the ambition of Ali; he resisted for some time before he ascended the pulpit of the Caliphs: at length he seemed to consent to the unanimous wishes of the Medinese. Telha himself, hurried along by the torrent, took the customary oaths to the new caliph, which he soon hoped to break, and immediately fled to Mecca, carrying to the widow of Mahomet the bloody tunic of the caliph Othman. This artful woman was desirous of appearing to avenge a crime of which she was the real author. They called her the mother of the Faithful, and she abused the credit which she had with the people in order to have Ali condemned as the assassin of Othman. The fatal tunic was hung up in the temple of Mecca as the standard of rebellion; it was even carried to Damascus, where the governor of Syria, a zealous servant of Othman's, exerted every effort against Ali, whom he believed to be the assassin of his master.

Meanwhile, Aiesha, capable of undertaking any thing for Telha, meditated to possess herself of Arabia; she assembled precipitately an army who flattered themselves with marching to certain victory

tory under the mother of the Faithful. She wrote to all the governors to acknowledge the voice of Mahomet. Some of them, at the sight of these orders, were all obedience; others, faithful to their oaths, declared for the caliph elect; in fine, Arabia in a short time saw two armies ready to rend this empire, become so formidable. Aiesha, at the head of her army, in a kind of covered litter carried by a camel, wanted to get possession of Pasra, one of the strongest places in Irac. Ali hastened to its defence: the two armies met, and, in spite of the mediation of the chiefs, came to action.

A more bloody battle had not been fought a long time; Aiesha's camel carried her wherever her presence could animate the soldiers; the pavilion of her litter was soon covered with darts, and her camel fell pierced with wounds; Telha perished near his benefactress. After a most obstinate resistance, Aiesha's army was cut to pieces, and she herself fell into the hands of the caliph. The latter respected the widow of his master; but he condemned her to that obscurity which was agreeable to all the Mussulmen. Aiesha passed the rest of her life attended and shut up as became the widow of Mahomet.

This victory brought Arabia, Irac, Egypt, and Persia, under the subjection of the caliph. But Moavia, governor of Damascus, had assembled an army in Syria; he still believed, or feigned to believe,

believe, Ali the assassin of his master Othman, who was likewise his cousin-german, both being descended from Ommias the uncle of Mahomet. Under this pretext, he caused himself to be declared caliph, promising, as he said, to pull down the usurper; he brought over the governor of Palestine likewise to his side, and was preparing to enter Arabia, when Ali, who had just defeated Aiesha, learned that it was time to oppose a more formidable enemy. Ninety thousand men marched under his command, and met at Saffein, on the confines of Arabia, the army of Moavia, which was still more numerous. In several skirmishes between detachments, the arms of Ali had always the advantage. At length the brave caliph sent to propose to his adversary, in order to spare Mussulman blood, to decide their quarrel by single combat, and to resign the sceptre only with life. Notwithstanding Ali's great age, his valour was dreaded; Moavia replied to Amru his lieutenant, who pressed him to accept a challenge which he could not honorably refuse: *You are certain then of becoming caliph in my place?* Ali, irritated at the cowardice of his adversary, longed to give him battle; he ranged his troops accordingly, and was ready to attack Moavia's camp, when the chiefs came out with copies of the Alcoran at the end of their lances, and presented them to Ali's soldiers as pledges of union and safety. The caliph wanted to charge these

these hypocrites with vigour; but his army refused to follow him, declaring they would not fight against the law of God. A retreat was necessary, and in a little time deputies arrived in Ali's camp from Moavia; they came to propose to refer the dispute to two arbitrators, chosen one from each army. Ali being pressed by the chiefs of his party: "I can decide nothing," cried he, "amidst an army that has refused to obey me; it rests with you to complete your work."

Moavia having named an arbitrator, some of Ali's soldiers named another, without the caliph's participation, but who promised at length to abide by his decision. The two parties agreed on a neutral place for the conference, and the caliphs retired with the major part of their troops: Ali to Cufa, Moavia to Damascus. The conference commenced during the ramazan. Amru, the arbitrator chosen by Moavia's party, persuaded Ali's arbitrator, that each should publicly depose his caliph, in order that the election, which they should afterward make in conjunction, might be more free and respected. The Arabian arbitrator being mounted on a tribunal raised in a place where there were a vast number of people, "I depose Ali from the califate," said he, "as I take this ring from my finger:" then the Syrian arbitrator, taking the former's place: "You have heard," said he with a loud voice, f "that

“ that Ali has just been deposed in the name of
“ the Arabians ; I depose him likewise in the
“ name of the Syrians ; and since the califate is
“ vacant, I appoint Moavia to it, and I invest him
“ with the sovereign power, as I put this ring
“ on my finger.” The Arabians, deceived, protested loudly against this wile, and the two parties separated more enemies than ever.

Whilst Ali's cause was betraying at Saffein, this caliph was employed in calming a sedition near Cufa. The same soldiers, who had refused to fight against the Alcoran, considered as a crime their master's having left to the judgment of men, what ought, they said, to be decided by God alone. Thirteen thousand of these soldiers took possession of a town in Arabia called Naarvan, declaring that they would no longer acknowledge Ali for their caliph, unless he disclaimed the arbitrators that he had left at Saffein. As Ali had given his word, he thought he ought not to retract it ; instead of replying to these rebels, he marched against them. On his arrival near Naarvan, he placed the Alcoran on the end of a pike in sight of the town, publishing, that he would pardon all the soldiers who should repair to this ensign ; but that those who should persist in the rebellion would be put to the sword. In those times of trouble and fervor, the Alcoran, as has already been observed, was more respected than the caliphs. Nine thousand of the male-

contents returned to what they considered as the ensign of their faith. Ali having easily entered the town, which was badly fortified, ordered all the remaining rebels to be put to death, without sparing one of them.

It was after this victory, or rather carnage, that Ali learned what had passed at Saffein; he was informed likewise that Egypt had surrendered to Moavia through the negligence and bad administration of its governors, and that Amru, the arbitrator who had attempted to strip him of the califate in order to invest his master in it, had entered peaceably into Egypt, pretending to govern it in the name of Moavia. Arabia was not more quiet than the other parts of the Mahometan empire. Moavia sent to ravage several cantons of the Yemen, which forms a part of it. The Mahometans, who always thought themselves fighting for their law, were yet more cruel against their strayed brethren, than against those whom they called Infidels. The shedding of so much blood raised up assassins, who thought to deliver their country by exterminating its oppressors.

Three men, accomplices with several others, took, the one the road to Cusa to assassinate Ali, the second that of Damascus to perform the same on Moavia, and the third that of Grand Cairo with the like intention on Amru. Moavia received only a wound which was not mortal; Amru being sick the day on which the assassin

proposed to kill him, another iman,* who said prayers in his stead, received the fatal stroke. Ali perished by the fatal hand that was armed against him; he was assassinated in the mosque. At first the wound did not appear mortal; but it was soon found that the instrument was poisoned. The caliph ordered them to kill his murderer with a single stroke, after he should be dead.

Ali was assassinated in the seventy-third year of his age, and the fortieth of the hegira, having reigned four years and ten months. This caliph had more knowledge, more elevation of mind, and more genius, than any of his predecessors; but he was more unfortunate than all of them. Some person asking him why the reigns of Abubeker and Omar had been so peaceable, and Othman's and his, on the contrary, so tempestuous: "That is," said he, "because Abubeker and Omar were served by Othman and me, and we only by such as you." There is a Centiloquium by Ali: it contains a hundred maxims, full of force and reason, which have been translated from the Arabic into several other oriental languages. This is one of them: *He, who would be rich without possessions, powerful without subjects, and subject without master, has but to serve God, and he shall find these three things.* The Persians, and several other Mussulman nations,

* Iman, a Mahometan priest.

tions, who still follow the sect of Ali, consider him as the first lawful successor of Mahomet; they treat the three former caliphs as usurpers, and don't admit the Sunna, which we have said is the collection of the ancient traditions of Mahomet, from whence the Turks, the opponents of the sect of Ali, have taken the name of Sunnites, and they name Shiites the followers of Ali, who raise the memory of that caliph almost as high as Mahomet's. Some hours before Ali's death, he was asked, who should reign after him; "Mahomet," replied he, "did not name his successor, nor shall I mine." He was no sooner dead, than they all turned their eyes on his son Affan.

This prince was unanimously proclaimed in Affan. Cufa; but he had neither the force nor ambition necessary to secure the throne which Moavia had shaken. The rebels made new efforts immediately on his beginning his reign, and it became necessary to send troops against them on the confines of Arabia. The peaceable Affan regretted already the blood that was about to be spilt; and whilst he was preaching submission and concord in the mosque at Cuba, Moavia, at the head of a powerful army, was promising the delights of Paradise to those who should vanquish the pretended assassins of Othman, or should die in arms against them. The warlike Arabians conceived contempt for a prince so sparing of human blood.

Affan

Affan soon perceived that they were growing tired of his lenity and efforts for peace. He no sooner learned that a battle had been fought on the frontiers of Arabia, in which neither party had gotten the advantage, and that the hope of an accommodation was more distant than ever, than he thought only of stripping himself of a dignity so foreign to his nature. Against the consent of all the partisans of the house of Ali, he sent to desire of Moavia an annuity during his life, and went to pass his days in obscurity at Medina, practising becoming virtues, and distributing to the wretched all the riches which Moavia had left him in exchange for the califate.

Moavia.

The implacable Moavia, sole possessor of the throne, was still willing to fear the man who had resigned it to him without defending it. The agreement between Affan and him was, that, after Moavia's death, the dignity of caliph should return to the family of Ali. The usurper, as ambitious for his posterity as himself, ardently desired to secure them the califate. The death of Affan, who as yet had no children, was determined on. His favorite wife engaged to poison him, on the promise of being married to Moavia's son. But he, who had concerted his death, and reaped the advantage of it, despised so much the perpetrator, that he refused to fulfil his engagement.

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As soon as the caliph thought himself peaceably in possession of the throne, he executed the project of securing it in his family. Iesid his ^{Iesid.} son was not only declared his successor, but his colleague. Most of the Mussulmen took the oaths to him, which 'till then had been done only to the reigning caliph. But Osein, son of Ali, and grand-son of the prophet by his mother, had not the same aversion for the empire as his brother Assan had shewn; and when, after a reign of nineteen years, the redoubtable Moavia had left all the authority to his son Iesid, Osein prepared to dispute with the son of the usurper what he considered to be the patrimony of his forefathers.

All the empire was in subjection to Iesid, except Mecca and Medina, which the partisans of the house of Ali had caused to declare for Osein. This prince hoped to get possession likewise of Cusa, which had been the residence of his father and brother. The intelligence which means had been found to procure him being multiplied, he thought he had only to present himself at Cusa to be proclaimed caliph there. But, whilst he was on his way thither, with all his family, at the head of a hundred and fifty armed men, the only forces that he had been able to assemble, and which he thought sufficient in a town that already acknowledged his authority, Iesid, informed of the intentions of the Cusians, sent new troops thither from Syria, and had the principal
partisans

partisans of Osein punished. In fine, every thing was quieted when the son of Ali appeared, and the unfortunate prince met a numerous army who came to fight him, instead of obedient subjects whom he expected to see come running out to meet their lawful master.

Osein's little troop was presently surrounded : he had only the choice left him, to acknowledge the caliph Iesid, or, with a hundred and fifty men, to make head against six thousand. Osein had with him his brothers, sisters, wives, and two young sons, all the hope of the house of Ali. His courage, or rather despair, prevented his saving them from the sword of the vanquisher; he chose rather to confirm the Ommiasian race on the throne of Mahomet, by delivering to them all those that might dispute their right, than acknowledge them, even by a forced consent, for the family of his masters. Affecting a prophetic enthusiasm, he fell on his knees amidst his people, and repeated aloud a fervent prayer to ask the protection of God for a just cause and the blood of his prophet.

Osein knew how to make the best of his bad position with a conduct and courage worthy of another recompense. During the night that preceded his defeat, and which Iesid's general employed in treating with Osein, this prince caused to be digged around his camp a large ditch, which he filled in the morning with combustibles,

bustibles, so that he seemed to be defended by a rampart of fire, which the horses refused to approach. Notwithstanding the most vigorous resistance, Osein perished, with seventeen of his brothers or relations, and almost all his soldiers. His sisters, some of his wives, and his two sons, called Ali and Amru, were preserved; who, after having been stripped of every thing that they had valuable, were dragged in captivity to Damascus.

Iseid saw with joy the head of his rival in greatness, though he shewed some sense of compassion for his fate. Osein's sisters were treated as became the grand-daughters of Mahomet, notwithstanding the sanguinary reproaches with which they loaded Iseid; he respected even the infancy of the sons of Osein. As he was deliberating in his council upon what he should do with them, several exhorted him not to pollute his reign with the murder of two innocent victims whose blood was venerated by every Mussulman. This opinion was violently opposed by one of Iseid's ministers; who, holding up a small steel instrument for cutting nails, said to the caliph, *My lord, this suffices at present to terminate the important affair under consideration; but if it be deferred, the blood of millions will not decide it.* This bloody advice seemed to be well founded, as the hatred of Osein's children manifested itself at every moment. Iseid, seeing the little Amru, Osein's second son, quarrelling with

his son, a child of the same age, said jestingly to the young Amru: Wouldest thou fight with my son? *Yes*, replied the child earnestly; *let us each have a sword*. This young lion already promised his father's enemies all that hatred which has since so violently shewn itself between the Shiites and Sunnites. But these dispositions made no alteration in Iseid's conduct, who constantly treated Oseïn's family as generous souls ought to use the unfortunate. He sent them all back to Medina, expressing the regret which he felt at having been obliged by circumstances to put Oseïn to death; and he lavished on them every succour capable of alleviating their misfortune. The Shiites count Oseïn and his son Ali as the third and fourth lawful caliphs.

Iseid's generosity irritated his enemies. No sooner was Ali's family returned to Medina, than the people, full of the remembrance of Oseïn, thought they ought to shake off the yoke of the Ommiasian caliphs. Ali and Amru were both too young to be placed at their head; it was therefore necessary to oppose some person that had both courage and experience against a prince so well settled on the throne of Mahomet. They chose Abdallah, the son of Zobeir, of the family of the Ashemites, from whom their first caliph, Ali, was descended; and being all come to the mosque, the first person among them cried: *I depose Iseid from the califate, as I take this turban*
from

from my head. I depose Iesid from the califate,
said the second, *as I take this shoe from my foot.*
All the Medinese having followed this example,
in an instant the ground was covered with tur-
bans and shoes. They drove out all those who
sided with the Ommiasian family, and took mea-
sures, as much as the tumult of a numerous army
would admit of, to have the principal towns of
Arabia follow the example of Medina.

Abdallah marched towards Mecca without ma-
ny obstacles, as the garrison, which held for the
caliph, was not sufficiently strong to hinder him.

Iesid learned at Damascus that his clemency
to the family of Ali had encouraged the rebels.
He sent immediately a numerous army into Ara-
bia; the news of its march brought back a great
many of the rebels; but Medina resisted constantly.
This city sustained a long and bloody siege, without
Abdallah, who meditated the conquest of the rest
of Asia, making any attempt to succour it. After
a resistance of three months, Medina was taken
and pillaged. The victorious soldiers regarded
only the family of Ali, agreeably to the orders
which they had received from Iesid. This suc-
cess encouraged the general of the Syrian army :
he proposed to besiege the Arabian caliph who
was then at Mecca; but whilst he was marching
towards it, he learned the death of his master,
Iesid, and returned into his own country. This
was the year 684 of Jesus Christ, the 64th lunar

year of the hegira. If two caliphs were since seen in the Mahometan empire, this division should be imputed to Abdallah's bad conduct, who did every thing that could alienate the Syrians from him, who were willing to throw themselves into his arms.

Moavia II. Immediately after the death of Iesid, his son, Moavia II. had been placed on the throne of the caliphs. This prince descended from it six weeks after, to shut himself up in solitude. The day on which he published his abdication, he said to the people: *Moavia I. my grandfather, wrested the sceptre of Syria from the son-in-law of the prophet, the lawful caliph, more noble, more great, and more virtuous, than Moavia, who was nothing but an usurper. My father Iesid put to death Osein, the prophet's grandson, whom he ought to have revered and served. I will not succeed to an authority so unjust, but go and weep in silence, and ask forgiveness of the prophet for the crimes committed by my family against his.* The Syrians, enraged at the abdication of their caliph, vented their fury, as it is said, on the prince's preceptor, whom they accused of having inspired him with such moderate sentiments. This man was buried alive by the people. The dispossessed caliph persisted in the resolution which he had taken, and died at Damascus a short time after his abdication, the Syrians not having been willing to admit him, nor indeed would they afterward have been able to prevail on Moavia II. to execute any of the functions of the priesthood, or
of

of the empire. They then turned their eyes on Abdallah. The principal Syrians, seeing all the advantages of a lasting union between the forces of the Mahometan empire, were on the point of prevailing on the people to acknowledge the Arabian caliph, when they were informed of Abdallah's having put to death all that remained at Mecca of the house of Ommias, and its numerous servants, and that the cruelties which the caliph daily exercised had neither motives nor measures. The Syrians soon dropt all thoughts of placing this barbarian on the throne. Mervan, of the Abdallah. race of Ommias, who had been the first that pro- Mervan, posed submitting themselves to Abdallah, was elected caliph at Damascus in the room of Moavia II.; but Abdallah still maintained himself in Arabia, notwithstanding his cruelties. Mervan reigned only ten months. Abdalmalec, his son Abdalmalec. and successor, immediately after his advancement, ordered, that the pilgrimage, which 'till then the Syrians had made to Mecca, should, for the future, be made to Jerusalem. He was unwilling to have the territories of his enemy enriched by the immense sums which his subjects carried every year to Mecca. Thus, in those times of enthusiasm and fervor, religion already gave way to interest.

Though the empire of Mahomet seemed to be divided between the Ommiasians and Aliians, the children of Ali lived in obscurity at Medina, whilst Abdallah, their distant relation, usurped the

the throne, which he had appeared at first to defend only for them. Mahomet and his brothers, grandsons to Ofein, (for history does not again mention his sons,) were descended in a direct line from the founder of the Mussulman law, by Fatima his only daughter, wife of Ali I. Such indisputable pretensions to the califate disturbed Abdallah, though the young prince, who had this apparent right, did not seem to think of it. The caliph then reigning attempted to extort from the young Mahomet an oath of fidelity, which the descendant of the prophet was too high spirited to take to any one. Abdallah immediately had all the Aliians imprisoned, giving them but a few days to submit, or to prepare to die. A great number of Mussulmen, faithful to the memory of Ali, assembled together. Their chief, called Moctar, raised the people of Mecca and several towns of Arabia. Abdallah was compelled to negotiate; and the Aliians were released from captivity the very day that Abdallah had fixed on to demand their heads, if they persisted in refusing the oaths. This faction, strong enough to enforce respect to the descendants of the prophet, was not sufficiently so to place them on the throne: the necessity of defending Arabia against the enterprises of Abdalmalec, caliph of Syria, soon reunited all the Arabians under the authority of their caliph Abdallah, and the interests of the house of Ali gave way to the common cause.

cause. But Abdallah's efforts only precipitated his fall. He perished in a battle, after having lost Medina and Mecca. His generals attempted in vain to defend Irac. Abdalmalec, more valiant, or more fortunate, than all of them, reduced to one sceptre all those who had the same faith; and whilst the descendants of Mahomet were reduced to a private station, no more than one caliph was known, usurper of the empire which the false prophet had founded.

Thus far the Arabians and all the Mussulmen had made use of the money of the Greeks. The Mahometan princes had not yet struck their own coin. Abdalmalec was the first, who made use of this sovereign right: the occasion of it was as follows. In some transactions which the caliph had with the Greek emperor, respecting the bounds of the two empires, the Mussulman prince always began his dispatches with the form prescribed by his religion: *There is no other God but one God, and Mahomet is his Prophet.* The Christian monarch, offended, sent word to Abdalmalec, that if he did not change this form, he, the Greek emperor, would have legends put on his coin in which Mahomet should be described by titles displeasing to his followers. The caliph immediately forbade the circulation of the Greek money in his territories, and caused drachms to be struck, of which the Arabic legend was, *God is eternal.* The superstitious Mussulmen complained at first
against

against the exposing of the holy name of God to the touch of prophane and impure hands; but they comprehended, in the sequel, that it was for the dignity of an empire like theirs to have a particular coin. There were several wars between these two powerful states under the caliph Abdalmalec; but as we propose in this discourse to give only the history of the Mahometan religion, the origin and foundation of the Ottoman empire, it will suffice to say, that Abdalmalec took Carthage and all Africa proper; and that these conquests were not made without the shedding of much blood. Abdalmalec died, after a reign of twenty-one years more brilliant than just. More than any other caliph, he founded his power on fear and chastisements; he impoverished and depopulated the countries which he had added to the empire, and the growth which he gave this great body sensibly diminished its substance and forces.

Walid I.

Walid I. succeeded his father Abdalmalec without contention. It is said that this prince had, by his frequent divorces, seventy-two wives; for Mahomet, who had allowed himself an unlimited number, had not granted his successors more privileges in this respect than the other Mussulmen.

In those times, the incontinence of Roderick, king of Spain, and the resentment of count Julian, procured the Mussulmen the most flourishing kingdom at that time in all Christendom.

Roderick

Roderick being violently in love with the young Cava, daughter to count Julian, was rash enough to violate her. The fiery Julian punished his country for the faults of its master; he introduced the African Mussulmen into that part of Spain which he governed. Musa, who commanded for the caliph in Africa, sent troops to the count: in less than three years the Mussulmen defeated Roderick's army, slew him, and made themselves masters of all his kingdom. The barbarians having afterward revolted against their chief, formed as many states in Spain as there were governors; but they were unable to drive out the Christians entirely, who, having thereon retired into the mountains of Asturias, disputed their ancient country with the Mussulmen for more than seven hundred years, with unequal fortune and rather slow success, and they did not entirely destroy the Mahometan empire in Spain 'till the end of the fifteenth century, under the reign of Ferdinand V. and Isabella, surnamed the Catholic.

After Walid I. eight caliphs of the Ommiasian race possessed the throne for about thirty years: they were called, Solyman I. Omar II. Iesid II. Hefam, Walid II. Iesid III. Ibrahim, and Mervan II. We shall pass over the seven first, as we have found nothing in their reigns which concerns the Mussulman religion.

An

Mervan II. An empire founded solely on force must sooner or later yield to a superior force. The Syrians, the Egyptians, and particularly the Arabians, grew weary at length of being governed by usurpers, whose throne was cemented with oceans of blood only. The first year of the reign of Mervan, a prince excessively cruel, the people revolted at Emessa, Alexandria, and Cufa. At first the caliph was every where vanquisher, and every where inexorable: the affrighted Mussulmen deliberated with one another, why they obeyed these sanguinary masters, whilst the race of their prophet was groaning, like themselves, under oppression. But the eyes of these malecontents never turned towards the descendants of Ali: they were sunk into obscurity.

The Abbassians, descendants of Abbas, a cousin of Mahomet, grandson, like Ali, of his paternal grandfather, were become powerful by immense riches, for which they were indebted to commerce, and the little attention that, 'till then, the Ommiassians had paid to them. Those of the house of Abbas were not like the Alians, sons of the daughter of the founder of the Mussulmen; but the people, dazzled with their riches, respected in them the blood of their prophet, much more than in the descendants of Ali. The chief of this fortunate race, named Mahomet like him from whom he derived all his glory, was already far advanced in age: he had three sons left out
of

of a numerous family; he shewed them to the Mussulmen as the pillars of their faith, the restorers of their empire, and the lawful masters that God had given them. A multitude of malecontents repaired to Moloima, the residence of Mahomet, and took the oaths to that emir, who died a few days after, leaving Ibrahim, his eldest son, at the head of this great enterprise. The revolt being well prepared, broke out at the same time in the Korazan, Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia. The Abbasian party was almost every where victorious; but their chief fell in the midst of his success. As Ibrahim was desirous of travelling through his new dominions, he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca with more pomp than safety. His escort, sufficiently numerous for a prince who shews himself to peaceable subjects, was insufficient for a conqueror who had not reduced all the enemies of his new power. He was attacked near Arran, a town that still held for Mervan II. and, after a vigorous resistance, Ibrahim fell into the hands of his enemies, who loaded him with chains. He died the next day poisoned; but the Abbasian party did not perish with its chief.

Abul Abbas, Mahomet's second son, was proclaimed at Cufa, and prepared to avenge the death of his brother. An army which Mervan II. had remaining in Irac was cut to pieces by Moslem the governor of that province. Mervan himself, at the head of another corps, his last re-

Abul Abbas,
the first
Abbasian.

source, was vanquished by this same Moslem. He fled into Syria, and presented himself unescorted before the gates of Damascus, which he could not get opened to him; his late subjects granted him no other favor than not to deliver him to the conqueror. The unfortunate caliph retired into Egypt, where death attended him. The inhabitants of Busirlair, having received him with a perfidious respect, put him to death in their mosque, and carried his head to Abul Abbas. Thus ended, in the 132d year of the hegira, the 750th of Jesus Christ, the dynasty of these sanguinary Ommiasians, who had usurped the sovereign power from the house of Mahomet, and had, almost all, made use of his name and sceptre to oppress his descendants.

The Abbasian caliphs did not shed less blood than their predecessors. The power of these princes could be established only by force. Mervan's head, exposed in the capital, seemed to promise his conqueror a peaceable reign, when the Aliians, drawn from their obscurity by some malecontents, and even by the remaining partisans of the Ommiasians who had lost their parents and possessions, attempted to revive the pretensions of the house of Ali. General Moslem reassembled the army; for the Abbasians, like the Ommiasians, fought by their lieutenants: he gained a bloody battle at Calcidena in Syria, and obtained several other advantages. Three of
 Ali's

Ali's descendants lost their heads for this new attempt. Moslem, after having vanquished the subjects of the caliph, fought with the same success the Greeks, who attempted to make irruptions into Armenia. The califate of Abul Abbas is remarkable, only by the numerous victories won by Moslem. This prince reigned four years; history says but little of him personally.

Almanfor, the brother and successor of Abul Almanfor, Abbas, began his reign with causing to be strangled, on a very slight suspicion, this same Moslem who had had such constant success, and who, if the Arabian historians may be believed, had put six hundred thousand men to the sword in the Abbasian cause. The inhabitants of Haseimia, a town where the caliph resided, irritated against this ungrateful prince, excited a revolt and attempted to take his life. Almanfor punished the rebels, and had several Alians put to death with them, whom he believed or feigned to believe the authors of the sedition.

This event induced Almanfor to change the seat of the empire: he laid the foundation of a city in the Babylonian Irac, on the confines of Persia, at a day's journey from the ancient Babylon. This new city was named Bagdad, from the name of a hermitage found on the spot. The undertaking was executed with dispatch, notwithstanding the troubles which agitated the empire during the whole reign of Almanfor; for one
Mahomet,

Mahomet, of the house of Ali, was declared caliph at Medina. Almanfor, without quitting his rising city, sent an army into Arabia. The unfortunate Mahomet was taken and beheaded in Medina, the very town where he had pretended to reign. Ibrahim his brother perished likewise in attempting to avenge him, and the caliph Almanfor caused the heads of these two vanquished princes to be set up on the walls of his new capital, which he ornamented with palaces and mosques whilst his generals fought for him. Bagdad was finished in less than six years; his successors enlarged it greatly afterward.

Mahadi.

Mahadi, the son and successor of Almanfor, saw spring up, immediately on his coming to the throne, a sect capable of overturning the califate for ever. An Arabian, called Mokanna, encouraged by the example of Mahomet, had, like him, a mind to found a religion: he counterfeited inspiration, published that the spirit of God resided in him, proposed new precepts, and confirmed his mission by false miracles. The people, fond of what was marvellous, followed this new prophet in crowds, who, more indulgent than the first, permitted the use of wine, and did not require so many prayers. Several towns in Arabia opened their gates to him. This enthusiasm soon formed foldiers: the Mahometan empire was like to be destroyed by the means that had raised it. Mahadi knew how to
oppose

ON MAHOMET, &c.

iv

oppose efficaciously this rapid progress. The pretended miracles which the impostor continually published did not render him the strongest; he was defeated several times. At last, having taken refuge with some soldiers in a small post which he did not expect to be able to defend long, he gave all his companions empoisoned wine, after which he set fire to his retreat, with so much precaution, that the Mussulmen could never extinguish it 'till all the dead bodies of the soldiers, and Mokanna himself, were consumed. This frantic fellow had predicted that he should rise from the dead; his disciples waited a long time in expectation of the miracle. Mokanna had so strengthened their credulity, that his sect was established throughout Arabia, and lasted near two centuries after him.

Another sectary sprang up at the same time. Abu Anifah, one of the most celebrated Sunnite doctors, lived under Mahadi. He entertained some particular opinions on different parts of the Alcoran, opinions which are now admitted by all the Ottomans; but, far from disquieting his sovereign, he only confirmed his disciples in the obedience which he thought due to the successor of Mahomet. Abu Anifah preached concord and peace, even the pardon of injuries, and he prayed publicly for his persecutors. This moral, though established by several passages of the Alcoran, must have appeared very new to men,

men, who, 'till then, had known no other law, virtue, nor glory, than that of force. Mahadi obtained great advantages over the Greeks, or rather Aaron Rachid, his second son, a young prince full of valour and prudence, made war at the head of a fine army, with so much success, that he obliged the empress Irene to become tributary to the Mussulmen. This celebrated female usurper, who was the first that found means to subject the Roman eagle to the sceptre of a woman, and whose profound policy repaired for some time the misfortunes and faults of her predecessors, was obliged to purchase a peace with the Mussulmen by an annual sum, which could not be considered but as a tribute, and Aaron Rachid brought back his army glorious and triumphant to Bagdad.

Mahadi, penetrated with admiration of the talents and superior qualities of Aaron Rachid, would fain declare him his immediate successor; but the prince rejected what did not belong to him. He declared, that he would never reign to the prejudice of his elder brother Musa; nevertheless he possessed the califate sooner than he had reason to expect. Mahadi was excessively fond of one of his wives, newly admitted to the honor of his bed: she who had been his favorite before this new conquest, tormented with jealousy, gave her rival a beautiful fruit, which she had empoisoned. The girl immediately

not allow him in his court the credit which his important services seemed to merit. This warrior, irritated at seeing the country which he had defended governed by women and eunuchs, thought the caliph unworthy of the sceptre; he communicated his sentiments to all the warriors, who, after having participated his dangers and glory in Egypt, considered themselves like him neglected and forgotten at the court of Bagdad. He invested the palace with them, made himself master of the person of the caliph, his mother, wives, and concubines, and shewed the people, as sovereign, Mahomet, surnamed Kaher, brother to the deposed caliph. This revolution was not made without much bloodshed. Munes was even obliged to sacrifice the late caliph to the safety of his new master and of himself. They say he affected some signs of grief and respect at the sight of this head which had borne the crown; but it was exposed, notwithstanding, to the eyes of the multitude in all the streets of Bagdad. Kaher did not shew himself more worthy of the throne than the prince that he had replaced.

This same Munes, who had made him caliph, ashamed of his work, thought of nothing but how to destroy it. A conspiracy was discovered in the very moment that it was about to break out; Munes, and his accomplices, already armed and in a state of defence, surrendered on the faith of a treaty only, which was to preserve them their

liberty and property; the caliph granted it with facility, and broke it with still more facility: the head of Munes, who was treacherously put to death, and those of some chiefs, were exposed the second day after in different public places at Bagdad.

This spectacle produced the contrary effect to what the caliph had expected from it. His perfidy and cruelty irritated more and more the soldiers and people: the blood of the first conspirators raised up a greater number. The Turks besieged the palace, and roused their caliph from the slumber into which he had been plunged by debauchery, to drag him to prison; they put out his eyes, and obliged him, by bad treatment, to declare his abdication. Kaher reigned less than a year; and though, in that short space, he had spilt much blood, he was not put to death. After several years captivity, Mothaki, one of his successors, set him at liberty; but, it is said, he was reduced to such misery, that he asked alms the rest of his life at the door of a mosque. Such a beggar ought to be more an object of horror than of pity.

Rhadi.

Rhadi Billah, son to Moktader, the eldest of the Abbassians, was taken from the prison in which he had been confined by his uncle Kaher. This prince ascended the throne in the 322d year of the hegira, the 934th of Jesus Christ. He completed the loss of the authority of the caliphs already so tottering. The provincial governors, become

become hereditary, not only disregarded the orders of Radi, as they had already done those of his predecessors, but even refused him the annual sums, to which the last caliphs had been confined by degrees, and who had made tributary sovereigns of those that originally were only officers removeable at pleasure.

Fourteen sovereigns, among which the Fatimite caliph was the most powerful, had reduced the Arabian califate to the territory that surrounded its capital. The power of Mahomet's successor was confined to things spiritual, to some decisions on points of doctrine, and to vain honors, which the Fatimite caliph, who pretended with more reason to the succession of Mahomet, always refused him.

Rhadi was even incapable of exercising the authority which he had left him in Bagdad. Small as was this sceptre, it became too weighty for his hands. A vizier, charged with giving an account to the caliph of every important affair, and to enforce the execution of his orders, was insufficient for the effeminacy or rather incapacity of Rhadi. The only act of absolute sovereignty that he ventured on during his reign, was to strip himself of it. He appointed an officer between himself and the vizier, who, charged with all the weight of government, became the real monarch. This new master was called *Emir-al-Omra*, that is, in Arabic, emir of emirs, or prince

of princes. The caliph, in order to rid himself entirely of every kind of trouble, permitted the emir-al-omra to read public prayers in the great mosque, and in the pulpit of Mahomet, a function 'till then indispensably reserved to the caliph, which neither Mahomet nor any of his successors had ever executed by deputy. Ebn Raick, the first emir-al-omra, disgraced at the same time both his new authority and the califate, by purchasing a peace of the general of the Karmates, prince of Air, the most feared, though the least of the Mahometan sovereigns: the commander of the Faithful submitted to pay tribute to this prince, who, properly speaking, was nothing more than a chief of freebooters. After this period, the dignity of caliph lost all its power. But as the empire of Mahomet seemed to be founded principally on the Alcoran, the usurpers of the different provinces, which at first had formed all together but one state, still continued a long time, for form sake, to receive the investiture from this pretended chief, who stiled himself the successor of the prophet.

Mahomet had likewise in Egypt another successor, descended from his daughter Fatima, who also conferred investitures on the princes his neighbours, and who, in the sequel, was reduced to the functions of the priesthood, like the caliph of Bagdad. But the latter groaned under the yoke of usurpation much sooner than his competitor.

petitor. The emirs-al-omra deposed the commander of the Faithful as often as their interest or caprice prompted them to.

This new dignity, though formed from the ruins of the califate, appeared so important in the empire of Mahomet, that about the year 450 of the hegira, 1058 of Jesus Christ, under the caliph Kaiembar Illah, Trogrudbek, grand-son of Seljioud, founder of the dynasty of the Selgieucids, conqueror of Irac, Syria, Mesopotamia, Natolia, and several other provinces, after having vanquished the emir-al-omra, would be emir-al-omra himself, in order to divide with the caliph the right of being named in public prayers, to ascend into the pulpit of Mahomet, in short, to see himself associated in the priesthood, which all the Mussulmen still looked upon as the foundation and support of the sovereign power. The new lieutenant powerfully protected the Abbasian caliph. Monstafer Billah, caliph of Egypt, had succeeded to chase away his competitor from Bagdad, and had gotten himself acknowledged in almost every part of Arabia for the sole commander of the Faithful. Trogrudbek overran these provinces at the head of a numerous army; he vanquished in several battles those who persisted to call Monstafer Billah chief of the religion. He brought back Kaiembar Illah to Bagdad, where he himself graced the triumph of the caliph, by holding the reins of his mule in a public

entry, and replacing that prince in the pulpit of Mahomet.

As a reward for this service, Trogrudbek asked the daughter of Kaiembar Illah in marriage, whether he loved her, or that he thought this alliance would secure him on his throne. The haughty caliph refused at first to mix the blood of the Abbassians with that of the Turks, whom he considered as barbarians in proportion as they were become more powerful. Trogrudbek, irritated, invested the palace of the commander of the Faithful, and swore he would not let any one go in or come out, 'till the caliph should have consented to make him his son-in-law. Kaiembar granted through weakness what he had refused through pride. Trogrudbek carried his new spouse to Rai, in the Persian Irac, where he had established the seat of his possessions, and left a governor in the residence of the caliphs.

We shall not undertake to relate all the wars which happened between the usurpers of the empire of Mahomet; but finish this sketch of the history of their religion, at the time when their power ended. After Trogrudbek, the califate was nothing but a vain title. The Sel-

gieucid Turks tore this empire to pieces in order to plunder the wreck.

We have intended solely to give an insight into the Mussulman religion; to say what power it had given its ministers, how these ministers lost it,

it, how opinion yielded to force, in fine, how the Turkish princes usurped the sceptre, which, 'till then, had never been separated from the Alcoran. We shall neither mention the crusades, so fatal to Europe and Asia, they are written by a crowd of historians of every age and country; nor the conquests of Saladin, who came from Persia to overturn the throne of the Fatimite caliphs, by making himself master of Egypt, after having had Adhud, the last of them, strangled; and to take from the Crusaders, in Palestine, what had cost ^{J.C. 1171.} ^{Heg. 567.} them so much blood; nor of Zengiskhan, who came from the extremity of Corea, to conquer half the universe, and destroy these Turks who had subjected the successors of Mahomet. These great events merit a particular history, an undertaking for them alone. We shall solely remark, that, after the caliph Kaiembar, eleven princes of the house of Abbas languished successively on the throne of Mahomet at Bagdad; that they did not preserve, even the appearance of power; that the last of these pontiffs having discovered a desire to shake off the yoke of the Moguls, prince Houlagoukhan, the grandson of Zengis, sacked Bagdad, and took from the caliph both his title and life, in the year 656 of the he-gira, 1258 of Jesus Christ.

After this period, there were no more caliphs at Bagdad. Saladin had destroyed under his reign the Fatimite caliphs in Egypt. Bibar, sultan

sultan of Egypt, three years after the destruction of the califate of Bagdad, picked up a branch of the Abbassians, which existed and preserved this title 'till the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. in 1517 of Jesus Christ, 923 of the hegira. But these caliphs, without a shadow of power, were subjects of princes who received the investiture from them, because the pretended successors of Mahomet, in giving the people the example of submission, seemed to render the authority of their masters more sacred.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Turkish, or Ottoman Empire,

From its Foundation in 1300, to the Peace of
BELGRADE in 1740.

OTTOMAN I.

FIRST REIGN.

THE Ottomans, whose history we are about to write, are, according to the opinion of the most learned in Oriental dynasties, descended from the Ogusian Turks. Being driven from their abode on the borders of the Caspian sea, by intestine wars, they took shelter among the Selgieucid Turks, sovereigns of Iconia, and received their name from Ottoman, their first chief who became sovereign. 'Till then their history is confounded with that of the other Turks: it is only at this period that it became peculiar to them. We shall unfold, by what

From 1300
to 1326, of
J. C.

700 to 726,
or the He-
gira.

B

means

J.C. 1300, means these people, without any desire of glory
 to 1326.
 Heg. 700, or love of their country, have been able to exe-
 to 726.
 cute astonishing acts of courage, enslave the re-
 mains of the Roman empire, and all the country
 that these last possessed in the East in their great-
 est prosperity.

State of
 Asia when
 Othman
 made his
 first ap-
 pearance.

For a whole century the known parts of the world had been harrassed with amazing emigrations: the nations were, as one may say, precipitated on one another. The best part of Asia continued in the possession of the descendants of Zengiskhan. Houlagou, one of them, who was tributary to his brother Magou the great khan of the Tartars, possessed all Persia; he had put to death the last of the caliphs, and destroyed this title, or at least this power, for ever. The Greek empire, reduced to the city of Constantinople and to some parts of Thrace, of Macedonia, of Thessaly, and of Bithynia, was not recovered from the crusades, the schism, the usurpation of the Latins, and from so many intestine and foreign wars, after which the ancient masters were at length remounted on their shattered throne. The kingdom of the Selgieucids of subjugated Iconia, like all the other possessions of the Turks, had ended with Mazoud II. its last master: in fine, the empire of Mahomet, cemented by so much blood and so many victories, had yielded to forces more sanguinary. If there were still remaining some petty Mahometan sovereigns

vereigns in a corner of Asia, they were those that the conquering moguls had disdained to notice.

J.C. 1300,
to 1326.
Heg. 700,
to 726.

In effect, after the dissolution of the kingdom of Iconia, some servants of the last sultans sought their safety in inaccessible mountains. As soon as the vanquishers were retired, these new emirs came to dispute with the Greeks some ancient possessions which were laid waste. The historians most to be credited count five of these emirs or captains, who, after having appropriated to themselves in common all the flat country of Asia minor, divided it between them, in order to conquer, each on his borders, the strong cities and the maritime towns which the Greeks yet possessed.

Origin of
the house
of Otto-
man.

Othman, the son of Trogrul, who had usefully served the last sultan of Iconia, was one of the bravest; Bithynia,* which extends along the borders of the Black sea as far as the Propontis, had formed his government under the last sultans of Iconia, and became his lot after their overthrow. Those, who, after the Ottoman writers, are desirous of giving their empire more extensive possessions at the beginning, make this emir a powerful prince, who had received from

B 2

these

* The Ottoman emperors look on a small village of Bithynia, called Soguta, as the cradle of their house, because Trogrul and his son Othman were born there. They have granted it several privileges, which it still enjoys.

J.C. 1300,
to 1326.
Heg. 700,
to 726.

these sultans of Iconia the investiture of a very large possession between Iconia and the Greek empire; but there was then no other power in Asia than the Moguls who had ravished it. We shall judge how much the territory which Othman governed ought to be confounded with that of the Greeks, by the first military exploit related of him after he became sovereign.

Othman
punishes
the trea-
chery of
two neigh-
bours, and
seizes their
possessions.

The governors, or Greek princes, jealous of Othman, whom they already considered as a dangerous neighbour, resolved to get rid of him by treachery. One of them, who was possessor of the castle of Jarissar, invited Othman to the wedding of his daughter, as well as all the neighbouring seigniors, Turks or Greeks. The Turkish emir, though admonished of this entertainment's being intended to be fatal to him, resolved to accept the invitation. He requested the governor of the castle of Belejiki, the intended son-in-law and accomplice of the treacherous governor of Jarissar, to receive into his fort his (Othman's) wives and most valuable effects, under pretext, that being at war with another neighbour, he feared lest this enemy should come, during the entertainment, to pillage Carachisar, the place of his residence. The governor of Belejiki eagerly received this proposal. Othman sent to this traitor's forty young warriors, disguised like women, and covered with long veils, with torches and arms inclosed in cases. The

festiyal

festival was to be held in a plain near the castle of Belejiki. Othman repaired thither the day appointed with but few attendants, after having en-ambushed a hundred of his bravest soldiers in a wood near the place of entertainment. The guests were no sooner assembled, than flames and abundance of smoke were seen issue from the castle, which Othman's pretended wives had set on fire. The governor and his father-in-law, who ran to extinguish it, were vigorously charged by the hundred men in ambuscade, and cut in pieces with all those of their party. Othman had time the same day to take the castle of Belejiki, as likewise that of Jarissar, which belonged to the father of the bride. It is said, that he gave this bride to his son Orcan, who had shared with him the peril and glory of his conquest. The young captive entered the bed of the murderer of her father and lover, and was mother to the emperor Amurath I.

The commencement of the Ottoman empire is fixed about the year 700 of the hegira, 1300 of Jesus Christ. Its founder knew how to employ advantageously the means of extending it. The Mahometan empire had flourished by enthusiasm and the severest discipline; Othman followed the same maxims in the little country where he began to be feared. He called himself the envoy of God to render Islamism triumphant, weakened by Zengiskhan and his successors.

Othman

J.C. 1300,
 to 1326.
 Heg. 700,
 to 726.

Othman
 lays the
 foundation
 of his em-
 pire.

J.C. 1300, Othman gave the Idolaters and Greeks the choice
 to 1326.
 Heg. 700, of embracing the Mussulman religion, or of pay-
 to 726.

ing him a tribute. At the head of some soldiers, excited by the hope of booty, or of martyrdom, he conquered Iconia from the Tartars, who had possessed it since the death of the last sultan, and, by degrees, almost all Bithynia from the Greeks.

The dissention which was broken out between the two Andronicuses, grand-father and grand-son, whilst they reigned together at Constantinople, deprived them of the means of opposing a progress which already threatened the downfall of this once mighty empire. Moreover, the mutual aversion of the Greek and Latin Christians turned to the advantage of their common enemies.

After several conquests, Othman attempted that of Bursa, the capital of Bithynia, renowned for its baths, one of the strongest places of which the Greek emperors remained possessed. His first efforts were unsuccessful. After a rather long siege, he found himself obliged to retire, leaving only some troops in ambush, to molest the commerce, and hinder the garrison from leaving it: it was then that he made choice of Jengishari, a town in the vicinity of Bursa, for his place of residence.

Othman
 reduces a
 great num-
 ber of
 Tartars.

His valour and policy soon procured him more splendid successes. A swarm of Tartars having spread over all the provinces of the Turkish emirs,

mirs, Othman, more valiant than his neighbours, vanquished those who came to pillage Carachisar, his ancient capital. The rapidity of his conquests in defenceless countries has without doubt deceived those who have believed him to have been at first a powerful sovereign.

J.C. 1300,
to 1326.
Heg. 700,
to 726.

Othman knew equally, how to take advantage of discord and of peace. Instead of making a great slaughter of these vagabonds, according to the oriental manner of fighting, he loaded with chains all the vanquished who were desirous of saving their lives, and offered them afterwards lands and liberty, if they would consent to embrace his religion. Other Tartarian brigands ranged themselves under his government; thus Othman founded a nation of soldiers. The vagabonds, without any other right to their new possessions, than the concession of the prince, holding of him, even their lives and liberties, fortified that despotism* which is the essence of a government perfectly

* We understand here by despotism, the right of commanding without contradiction, and without written laws, or the sole right of interpreting those that are so. The Turks know no other written law than the Alcoran and the Sunna, which give, indeed, some general precepts, but are far from prescribing the manner of governing in particular cases, or in all the ordinary ones. Though the interpretation of those pretended sacred writers belongs to the musti, the dignity and possessions of this chief of the Mussulman religion are in the hands of the emperor; he dares not undertake any thing against the will of his master, at least if he be not sure of dethroning him. The manners of the Turks, more constant than their laws, undoubtedly restrain the power of the monarch. He risks his throne and his life, when

J.C. 1300, perfectly military. The first subjects of the
 to 1326.
 Heg. 700, Ottoman empire were warriors docile to the voice
 to 726.
 of their chief. Othman justified this absolute power by the authority of the Alcoran, and by the example of the Divinity, of whom sovereigns are the image. As the supreme Being is unbounded in his decrees, said he, he, who represents him on earth, ought to be so likewise. This was the great argument of Mahomet, to which his followers had not learned to answer.

After these principles, though it appears certain that Othman never bore the title of emperor, nor even that of sultan, he nevertheless laid a good foundation for the power of his future race, by announcing to his subjects a God remunerator and avenger. In persuading them that the sovereign was the organ by which this God manifested to them his wishes, he inspired them with such a devotion for the blood of their masters, that it makes an essential part of the form of worship which the Ottomans believe due to the Divinity.

he attempts to misuse them too openly. This is also an effect of despotism, which exposes the days of the sovereign whenever this sovereign is not the strongest. The Turks are not all slaves, as some have pretended; but they are all liable to confiscation of property, and even to be put to death without being convicted of any crime: and this misfortune happens frequently to the most elevated ranks. The Ottoman monarchs are likewise despotic, in no one's having a right to reclaim in their presence, either the interest of the people, or the authority of the law. To conclude, if we define despotism a power without bounds, the Ottoman emperors are not despotic, and there are none such on the face of the earth. But if we define it a power without rules, there is no monarch more despotic than the sovereign of the Turks.

Divinity. They still believe, at this day, that the house of Othman will have end, only with their empire, which is itself to last as long as the world. Though the Ottoman emperors are not, as the caliphs were, successors of Mahomet, and premier pontiffs, their person is not less sacred, nor their orders less regarded as emanations of the Divinity, unless they directly clash with the precepts of the Alcoran. The blind obedience, which communicates itself step by step, renders the authority of the lowest officers of the empire as absolute as the emperor's.

J.C. 1300,
to 1326.
Heg. 700,
to 726.

Orcan, the son of Othman, a prince as valiant as his father, again besieged the town of Burfa, and had the good fortune to take it. Death surprised the emir, as he was preparing to remove the seat of his dominions to this capital of Bithynia. He sent for his son to come to him at Jengishari, that he might give him his last orders, and bid him a final adieu. Othman died the 726 year of the hegira, 1326 of Jesus Christ. This prince had great designs, a tried courage, and a rare prudence. He knew how to communicate to his nation the force necessary to extend and elevate it. He civilized barbarians just as much as was necessary to teach them to vanquish; for, as we shall see, the Ottomans were always more sanguinary than the other nations, and their ferocity greatly augmented the renown of their valour.

Prince Or-
can takes
Burfa.

Death of
Othman.

C

O R C A N

J.C. 1326,
to 1360.
Heg. 726,
to 761.

O R C A N I.

SECOND REIGN.

Establi-
ments
made by
Orcan.

ORCAN ascended the throne, aged thirty-five years, with more pomp than his father. He introduced into his court pageantry and magnificence, and stiled himself sultan. This title, more imposing than that of emir, began to accord with the extent of country that Orcan had to govern, the bounds of which he flattered himself with enlarging considerably. Othman had fixed before his death that Bursa should be the seat of his empire. His son followed this project. He adorned with vast edifices his new residence, and established in it mosques, hospitals, public markets, in short, every thing suitable to the capital of a powerful state. The new sultan declared his brother Allaadin grand vizier, that is, prime minister, and the next to himself in the state. This example was not followed by Orcan's successors, who, always suspicious, regarded their nearest relations as their greatest enemies. The sultan abolished the use of the Selgieucid money, and had a coin of his own struck. Orcan, well persuaded that armies docile to the voice of their chief would be the principal spring of his authority,

rity, applied himself to the perfecting of the military discipline which his father had established. He was the first that fixed a daily pay for the infantry, who, 'till then, had been paid only by pillage, or the hope of Paradise. He formed a corps of young Christian renegades, wrested in infancy from their parents, and who had no other resource to get out of slavery than to carry arms. These young soldiers, being placed under severe masters, soon learned to obey and to bear hunger and fatigue: and they saw a certain advancement for recompense of their docility and courage. Those, who possessed lands, or other riches, were appointed to the cavalry; they formed the corps of spahis, which still subsists, mounted on horses as swift as docile. Orcan assigned to the military a particular dress.

J.C. 1326,
 to 1360.
 Heg. 726,
 to 761.

With troops, if not more courageous, at least more numerous and better disciplined than his father's, he vanquished Andronicus, the Greek emperor, who had passed the sea to oppose the incursions of the Turks. After having beaten this prince in several battles, in one of which Andronicus was wounded, Orcan obliged him to make a sudden retreat. He took Nicomedia, and thus became sovereign of the territory that surrounded it, which extended a good way. Though these soldiers gave but little quarter, Orcan had given orders to spare the women and children. All the prisoners of this kind became as many

Orcan
 takes Ni-
 comedia
 and Nice.

J.C. 1327.
 Heg. 727.

J.C. 1327, subjects, whom he sent to repeople the places least
 to 1360.
 Heg. 727, inhabited. The sultan, seeing that his new do-
 to 761.
 minions wanted cultivators, repaired, by the ex-
 treme care that he took of the children, the loss
 of their fathers, sacrificed in too great a number
 at his conquest. He established in every town a
 cadi, a judge that was to be responsible to the
 bashaw or governor of the province. These
 officers began forthwith to render a speedy and
 arbitrary justice, alone known in the Ottoman
 empire.

J.C. 1330. Of all Orcan's conquests, Nice cost him most
 Heg. 730. time and men. He remained two years before
 that place, which was defended with more reso-
 lution than the Greeks had shown a long time.
 Orcan made use of war engines that were then in
 use for battering walls, but which could not
 be erected without much bloodshed. When the
 breaches were open, the besieged demanded solely
 the liberty of retiring to Constantinople. Orcan
 not only granted them their request, but he per-
 mitted even those who wished to change their
 residence to carry away their property. This
 generosity retained at Nice a great many citizens,
 who, in hopes of being governed with justice,
 continued to dwell in their own country, paying
 tribute to the conqueror. Several even embraced
 Islamism. Orcan took care to provide advan-
 tageously for all the women that were become
 widows

widows during the siege of Nice, and from whom children might yet be hoped for.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

As yet Orcan had only made war with the Greeks. Full of his father's maxims, he pretended, or at least he published, that the Mussulmen ought not to turn their arms against one another, and that the sword of a true Believer should never be dipped but in the blood of Infidels. This prejudice encouraged the soldiers, and made their sultan appear to them as a minister of the decrees of God; but it likewise seemed to forbid Orcan the hope of ever reigning over these countries near him, which Mahometan emirs possessed of the ruins of the Selgieucid empire. The children of the emirs that had divided Natolia with Othman I. had made new partitions between them, which weakened their power. This division of the Mussulman forces presented a fine field for the avidity of Orcan. The sultan obtained by fraud what he durst not take by force. Being become the most powerful of the Mussulman princes, he caused himself to be proclaimed guardian to an emir, the grandson of Sarkan, who, as yet but a child, inherited the throne of his father. The new guardian took possession of the dominions of Rasim his ward; he garrisoned his towns, under pretence of defending them, and gathered the imposts which this prince drew from his subjects, in order, as he said, to œconomize them for pressing occasions.

Orcan
seizes the
possessions
of some
emirs.

J.C. 1336, fions. The feeble ward never durst afterwards
 to 1360. reclaim rights which no one could enforce. He
 Heg. 736, died the subject of a prince, who had called him-
 to 761. self his protector and ally in order to wrest from
 him his patrimony.

Another emir, grandson likewise of Sarkan, young and without experience, amazed at the rapid success and power of Orcan, resolved to resign to him his estate, which consisted of five towns, separated by some plains, forming together a small province, of which Pergamo was the capital. This emir was called Tursonbeg. Agilbeg, his younger brother, irritated at the proposal of resigning to a ravisher the inheritance of his father, and of giving the subjects of his house a foreign master, declared, that he would defend the sceptre which his brother abandoned so cowardly, and endeavoured to get himself acknowledged emir in his place. As this difference had occasioned a civil war, Orcan persuaded the two brothers to spare Mussulman blood, and to treat this affair amicably in a place agreed upon. Agilbeg no way dissembled to his elder brother the contempt which he held him in; the discussion became a quarrel, and finished by a single combat, in which Tursonbeg was killed. The vanquisher took refuge in Pergamo, resolved to sell dearly his patrimony to the ambitious Orcan, who, become the avenger of the blood of his ally, and of a fratricide which he pretended

pretended was a treachery, seized this pretext to turn all his forces against the unfortunate Agilbeg. This prince did not make so long a resistance as his despair might have enabled him to. Some traitors delivered him and his capital to Orcan, who soon took possession of his state, and shut up Agilbeg in prison, where he died, after two years of the hardest captivity.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

Orcan, master of Natolia proper, and of the borders of the sea which separates Asia from Europe, longed to penetrate into this rich part of the world, to attack the Greeks there, whom he had already vanquished on his own ground. Solyman, the son of Orcan, a young warrior full of ambition and courage, wished for conquest still more ardently than his father; but the Ottomans, used to fight only by land, had neither vessels, nor pilots, nor constructors; they wanted even fishing barks, and every mean of attempting this element, more redoubtable perhaps for those that understand it, than for those who have never experienced it; at least Solyman risked what the most experienced seaman would have thought impracticable. Since the sultan had made himself master of all the sea coast, the Greek emperor had published a decree, which forbade, under pain of death, the putting of any vessel, or even bark, on the Bosphorus of Thrace, or on the straits of Gallipoli; flattering himself that this barrier would be always impenetrable

Solyman
passes the
sea & takes
Gallipoli.

to

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.

Heg. 736,
to 761.

to the efforts of Orcan. Solyman, having made a hunting party, arrived by a fine moon light on the borders of the straits, at the head of eighty determined men. He constructed three rafts of thin plank, fastened on corks and ox bladders tied by the neck, and thus risked himself and attendants to cross five leagues of sea on these frail skiffs, by the aid of long poles which served him as oars and even rudders. This rash enterprise succeeded beyond the wishes of Solyman. He arrived, without the least accident, at the foot of the castle of Hanni in Europe. Both the night and the moon favored him. He met a peasant at break of day going to work. This man, enslaved by fear and gained by gold, introduced the Turkish prince, by a subterraneous passage, into the castle of Hanni (the ancient Sestos). There was no garrison in this place, as the Greeks thought it sufficiently defended by the sea; all was still hushed in profound sleep. Solyman made himself master of the castle, and having assembled the principal inhabitants, he addressed them in the most flattering terms, and made use of the most magnificent promises, to persuade these Greeks, who were all pilots or sailors, and moreover very little attached to their prince, to take the vessels which they had in two small ports just by, and conduct them to the other side of the strait, to embark four thousand Turks, who were there attending him. In a few hours

hours this small army was transported from Asia to Europe, and, before the end of the day, Solyman took the other castle, called Aiofo Conia, which did not contain more garrison than the first. The next day, the governor of Gallipoli assembled all the troops that he could muster, and attacked the enemy: the battle was long and bloody; the Turks at last forced the Greeks to flee and shelter themselves in their town, which they defended courageously a long time; but wanting provisions, and their fortifications being moreover in bad condition, they were obliged to surrender. Thus Solyman made himself master of the key of Europe.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

About this time the Greek empire was troubled with fresh dissensions. Cantacuzenus, guardian to the emperor Paleologus, having attempted to seize on the sovereign power, had succeeded to divide it. The empress Anne, mother to the young emperor, sought protectors for her son, and asked assistance of Orcan. Cantacuzenus made the same application. As the sultan desired only conquests, he chose rather to join the usurper, who was mangling the remains of the empire, than its lawful master, who had interest to preserve it. Orcan sent succours to Cantacuzenus, which did not a little contribute to the ruining of the country, for the Turkish generals took great care to dismantle the places that they seized in the name of the Greek usurper. Under pre-

Orcan forms an alliance with the Greek emperor Cantacuzenus, & marries his daughter.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.Heg. 736,
to 761.

tence of serving the ally, they laid waste Thrace as much as in their power, and equally endeavoured to weaken and plunder it. Cantacuzenus, in order to confirm this alliance, which he thought would be very useful to him, resolved to give Orcan his daughter in marriage, notwithstanding the difference of religion, and the number of wives, concubines, and children, that this barbarian had already. This was what Cantacuzenus himself called his future son-in-law. The sultan eagerly received the proposal of this marriage. He sent an ambassador to demand this princess, who was called Theodora. The new Greek emperor was then at Selivrea. The ceremony of the marriage was performed in a large plain near the city, where the princess was shewn to the people, sitting on an elevated throne, unattended by any one of her sex, in the middle of a troop of eunuchs on their knees with lighted torches. According to the laws of the country, neither the mother nor the sisters of Theodora appeared at this ceremony. The emperor gave a magnificent entertainment to all the Turks, who, the next day, conducted their new sultanes to her husband. This princess retained her religion in the middle of the seraglio of Orcan: and this sultan, either through policy or inclination, granted her more liberty than the Mussulmen in general give their wives; for, a short time after her marriage, peace being concluded between Paleologus and Cantacuzenus,

Cantacuzenus, on condition of dividing the au-
 thority between them, Orcan came as far as
 Scutari, where the emperor his father-in-law came
 to receive his compliments. On this occasion the
 Mussulman prince brought Theodora to see her
 father, and permitted her to go and pass three
 days at Constantinople with the imperial family,
 whilst he, the sultan, waited for her on board his
 vessels, for he had some since Solyman's expe-
 dition on the straits of Gallipoli.

J.C. 1336,
 to 1360.
 Heg. 736,
 to 761.

The Greek empire was but a short time in
 peace. The disagreement between Cantacuzenus
 and Paleologus being renewed, the latter engaged
 in his quarrel the Syrians and Bulgarians, and the
 former had recourse to his son-in-law, who sent
 him twenty thousand men under the command of
 his son Solyman. This young prince beat the
 Bulgarians, took fort Simpré, and several mari-
 time towns of Thrace. Paleologus, astonished,
 sent ambassadors with considerable presents to
 this redoubtable enemy, to engage him to remain
 neuter in the quarrel. Solyman promised it, and
 repassed the sea without rendering, either to Pa-
 leologus or Cantacuzenus, the places which he had
 taken in the Greek empire. A short time after,
 an earthquake having done much damage in se-
 veral towns of Thrace, the soldiers and inha-
 bitants, frightened at the fall of the buildings,
 deserted them to seek their safety in the plains.
 Solyman, always ready to take advantage of every

Solyman
 seizes seve-
 ral towns
 of Thrace,
 and Orcan
 authorises
 the usurpa-
 tion.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

circumstance, returned into this province, entered all the towns that had been deserted on account of the earthquake, placed new garrisons in them, and expeditiously repaired the breaches. Cantacuzenus complained in vain to his son-in-law; the sultan replied, that the part of Thrace which his son had taken possession of, was but a trifling indemnity for the expences of the war; that Solymán had had a right to take possession of these deserted towns, which did not appear to belong to any one; and that, as to the rest, neither Gallipoli nor Simpré should be restored 'till the emperor had paid him the expences of the armament. These two places interested Cantacuzenus more than all the others; he sent his son-in-law fifty thousand crowns of gold; but the perfidious sultan, after having received the price, eluded the restitution. Cantacuzenus, astonished, crossed the sea with a feeble escort, and went as far as Nicomedia to seek a conference with Orcan, who took care to avoid it; Cantacuzenus was even given to understand, that he would risk his liberty, if he penetrated farther into the territories of his son-in-law.

The sultan's deceit did not prevent Cantacuzenus from restoring him Kalil, his youngest son by the princess Theodora. This child had been taken by a Phocian pirate, who came as far as the gulf of Astacena, in which was situated Nicomedia, where the young Kalil was bred up.

The

The emperor gave a large sum of money, and a considerable dignity, to the pirate for the ransom of the Turkish prince his grandson. At that time Solyman was extending his empire eastward; he took from the Tartars the towns of Ancyra and Cratea. On his return, he found that the emperor Cantacuzenus had retired into a cloister, and that his son Matthew possessed his throne. Notwithstanding the promises which Paleologus had made his colleague, at the time that the latter made his abdication, to live on good terms with his son, the concord between the two Greek emperors was not of long duration. In a short time, Matthew reclaimed the dangerous assistance of these Turks, whom his father had had so much reason to complain of. The new emperor was not better served by them than Cantacuzenus had been. Five thousand men that Orcan sent to reinforce him, after having pillaged every place through which they passed, gave the example of flight to Matthews's troops in a battle fought near Philippi, when this prince was made prisoner. The unfortunate emperor having abdicated his crown to recover his liberty, the Turks had no longer occasion to feign, or rather to betray. Orcan no longer thought but of taking by open force the rest of Thrace, great part of which he had already usurped.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

Cantacuzenus abdicates the crown in favor of his son Matthew, who soon abdicates it likewise.

The sultan sent his two eldest sons, Solyman and Amurath, across the sea. These two princes entered

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.

Heg. 736,
to 761.

Orcan's
sons con-
quer the
rest of
Thrace.

entered all the places that fell in their way, showing every where more cruelty even than valour, massacring unmercifully all those that did not surrender at the first onset. This manner of making war, unknown in Europe, terrified the whole country. The European warriors prided themselves on their generosity to the vanquished. The Greeks especially made a point of regarding men's lives; they punished crimes only by mutilations. What then must have been their terror, when they were attacked by barbarians, who took pleasure in destroying them, and whose ferocity seemed to augment with the facility that they found to satiate it? At first the unhappy inhabitants of the Greek empire shut themselves up in the strong towns, which served them but a short time for an asylum, after which they fled into Italy, and spread themselves over the other parts of Europe, where they carried with them their taste for the sciences and the fine arts.

Notwithstanding his ferocity, Amurath sought subjects; he repassed the sea on the approach of autumn, carrying with him into Asia more slaves than soldiers. He designed them to repeople the countries which his forefathers had laid waste. But despotism, still more destructive than a momentaneous ferocity, has rendered all these transigrations useless. The Ottoman provinces always appear like countries desolated: the Arabians overrun with impunity those of Asia, setting

setting a ransom upon the travellers and caravans. The opulent cities of Athens, Sparta, Ephesus, Antioch, and many others, are eclipsed by their passed splendor: the rubbish of their sumptuous buildings fills up their ground plot: these are miserable habitations, built on one side of those ruins which bear their famous names.

J.C. 1336,
to 1360.
Heg. 736,
to 761.

Meanwhile, Solyman laid siege to Adrianople, which he made himself master of at the end of nine months, in 1360.

Whilst this young prince was thinking only of increasing his heritage and glory, an accident cut the thread of his life. As he was exercising his cavalry at the long bow in the plains of Adrianople, an unruly horse ran away with him, and having run against a large tree, Solyman was crushed with the blow, and expired immediately. His father, Orcan, grieved to the very heart at this loss, survived him but two months; he died at the age of seventy, after a reign of thirty-five years. This prince owed his greatest successes to his son Solyman, whom he had taught to vanquish and to deceive like himself. Fraud and cruelty composed all his policy, which was sufficient against enemies timid and divided. Under Orcan, the Turkish state took a new force; its future grandeur might easily be foreseen by the progress that it had already made. Orcan established in his dominions more order than could be expected from an unjust prince and a barbarous people;

Death of
Solyman,
and of Or-
can his
father.

J.C. 1360, people; but the worst hearts are willing to have .
 to 1389.
 Heg. 761, those they govern just; they know that no society
 to 791.
 can subsist without it. The sultan was interred
 at Bursa in the year 1360 of Jesus Christ, 761 of
 the Hegira.

A M U R A T H I.

THIRD REIGN.

Amurath
 I. marries
 the prin-
 cess of Ser-
 via. He
 subjugates
 several
 Greek
 princes, &
 founds the
 Timars.

AMURATH was forty one years old when his father left him the sceptre. In order to impose on the people, he affected an exterior piety, and took a Persian surname, which signifies, sent from God. He fixed his residence at Adrianople as soon as he began his reign; but he was hardly established there, before he was obliged to repass into Asia to quell a sedition. History does not name, either the seditious, or the place of their assembly. All that we know is, that some bashaws, believing Amurath too much occupied with his conquests in Europe to be able to think of maintaining his power in Asia, attempted to shake off the yoke; that the sultan, who had just concluded a treaty with the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, passed the straits of Gallipoli, marched against the rebels, vanquished and dispersed them in a single battle. The sul-

tan

tan soon returned to Europe, where, according to Calcondilus, he flew on the wings of love. The second year of his reign he took the town of Phera* from the Triballians,† who had taken it themselves from the Greek emperor; he then attacked the despot of Servia, but was so favorable to this feeble enemy, as to spare his troops, and even his country, on condition of his giving his daughter in marriage to the vanquisher. Amurath certainly had never seen this princess, for in that age, the Greek women were nearly as much sequestered as the Mahometan ones. If Amurath purchased the hand of the princess of Servia at the price of a province, it was without doubt on the reputation of her beauty. Moreover, Amurath was certain of conquering Servia the first moment he should take the pains to enter it. He reduced some Misian and Triballian despots; he imposed even personal taxes on those of their subjects who persisted in Christianity; but those who had borne arms, and would become Mussulmen, were enrolled among the spahis. The sultan distributed lands to some others, on condition of their entertaining during a war a horse and some soldiers proportionably to the value of their possession. In this manner he attached them to his service by favors, which he could deprive them of at every instant,

J.C. 1360,
to 1389.
Heg. 761,
to 791.

* Phera was on the frontiers of Macedonia, on the borders of Servia, and served as a rampart to that province.

† People of Bulgaria and Servia.

J. C. 1360,
to 1389.
Heg. 761,
to 791.

stant, and that were to pass to their eldest son, only on the same condition: even at this day, these military benefices, called timars, given by Amurath I. or by his successors, are so in the hands of the prince, that a timarian is as much afraid of losing the inheritance that he possesses, whether from his father or the emperor, as if it were a daily pay which the least discontent or caprice could take from him.

He establishes the janissaries.

Amurath paid still more attention to his infantry, which he justly regarded as the principal force of armies. He established the corps of janissaries as we see it at this day: and, by the advice of Kara Ali his grand vizier, he ordered, that the fifth part of the slaves that should be made from the enemy, (for the Turks call their prisoners of war by no other name,) should belong to the sultan, and that these foreigners, having embraced Islamism,* should form a new corps, which Amurath fixed at ten thousand men, but it was afterwards considerably augmented. He divided them into odas or chambers, at the head of which he appointed particular

* The Turkish emperors regard all those that become Mussulmen as subjects. Submission to the Alcoran implies always the privilege of naturalization. A renegade is sometimes prime minister of the empire. There is no other rank in Turkey than that of employments, and every Mussulman, without distinction, is capable of being appointed. The slaves taken in war, or given by tributary nations, if they are brought up from infancy in the Mussulman religion, or in military discipline, either in the seraglio or in some oda, are much surer of succeeding to high employments, than the inhabitants of towns.

particular officers, and he subjected the whole corps to a chief, called an aga, who, by his credit and authority, became one of the first officers of the empire. As Amurath wished to give this corps of infantry the renown of great valour, he resolved to consecrate it by religion. The first enrolled were sent to a dervis, whose holy life rendered him recommendable. As soon as these new soldiers were prostrated before him, the solitary man, affecting a prophetic tone, and placing the sleeve of his garment on the head of the first of them: "Be their name janissaries," said he; "be their countenances fierce, their hands always victorious, their swords always sharp, their lances always ready to strike at the head of an enemy, and their courage the cause of their constant prosperity." Since this period, they have always retained the name of janissaries, which signifies new soldiers, and their cap has retained the form of a sleeve. This soldiery became, as we shall see in the sequel, very useful to the Ottoman empire, and sometimes fatal to its masters.

All absolute as Amurath was, he affected to submit himself strictly to the usages, and even to the ministers of the Alcoran, though he could raise or depose them at his will. The musti, who is the chief of the religion, was likewise, in the beginning of the empire, judge of the contests which happened between private persons.* The

J.C. 1360,
to 1389.
Heg. 761,
to 791.

The musti
refuses the
testimony
of the em-
peror.
Consequen-
ces.

E 2

sultan

* The mollahs and cadis, who are the Ottoman judges, are ecclesiastics.

J.C. 1360,
to 1389.

Heg. 761,
to 791.

sultan wanted to appear one day as a witness in a process between two officers of the seraglio: the musti had the boldness to refuse to hear his master: "Your word is sacred," said he to him, "being the word of the sultan; but if you appear as a private person, I cannot hear you, because you do not mingle your prayers with those of your brethren in our mosques, as it behoves every Mussulman to do." Amurath, struck with this reproach, built a mosque at Adrianople, opposite his seraglio, where he went afterwards the days and hours ordered by the law of Mahomet.

League between Andronicus & Contusus.

The janissaries, the very first year of their institution, shewed great proofs of valour. The sovereigns, that had seized on the ruins of the Greek empire, feared the sultan infinitely more than the feeble enemy whom they had plundered. John Paleologus saw the impossibility of sustaining himself on his throne, without the assistance of this new ally, whose usurped power he detested, but which he was obliged to implore.

Andronicus and Contusus, the one son of John Paleologus, the other of Amurath, with the janissaries, the spahis, and a few imperial troops, defeated, at a place called Sirmen, a confederate army of Moldavians, Walachians, Transylvanians, and Bulgarians, neighbouring nations, enriched by the spoils of the Greeks, whom we shall see soon become tributary to the Turks. Age, conformity

formity of inclinations; and success, united the two young princes; but Andronicus beheld with the same eyes as all the Christians the progress of the Turks both in Europe and Asia. He fumed to think he should never ascend the throne of his ancestors, but dependant and almost tributary to a barbarian. Contusus was ambitious; Andronicus undertook to arm him against his father and master; hoping one day to throw off the Turkish yoke, by destroying the father by the son. To complete this enterprise, it was likewise necessary for Andronicus to arm against Paleologus. Both these princes governed their fathers' European dominions, whilst Paleologus and Amurath were gone into Asia for reasons which history does not say. The two young rebels formed a league offensive and defensive, and had their names placed in the public acts. The sultan, on receiving these news, reproached Paleologus as bitterly, as if he had been the accomplice of the young prince who aimed at dethroning him. The emperor of the East descended to the lowest justifications; and, whatever reason he had to wish the division of the barbarians, he promised to chastise his son, if he could take him prisoner.

In effect, the two monarchs repassed the Bosphorus, at the head of an army composed of Turks, for the Greeks were in so small a number, that they scarcely merited to be counted. Amurath found

J.C. 1387,
to 1389.
Heg. 789,
to 791.

J.C. 1387, found the rebels encamped at some leagues from
 to 1389.
 Heg. 789, Constantinople, and intrenched between palisades
 to 791.

and a river. He approached the camp at night, by favor of the moon light, and made himself known to the advanced guards. This sage prince made use of flattery and promises in order to prevail on the soldiers to return to their obedience. The caresses of a monarch, 'till then always vanquisher, and of whom the rebels were afraid they should soon experience the courage and fortune, shook their constancy: they returned to the camp only to impart Amurath's promises to their comrades. In less than an hour Contusus saw more than three-fourths of his army desert to his father's camp: the two revolted princes had no other choice than to retreat. They both fled to Didimotica, resolved to merit a capitulation by their courage. They were received with respect; but, after much blood spilt, the city was taken, and the two princes fell into the hands of an inexorable vanquisher.

Bad success of this league.

Amurath sent Andronicus under a strong guard to Constantinople, and summoned the emperor his father to keep his word by punishing this rebellious son, after which he had the eyes of his own put out in his presence, and all the soldiers of the garrison precipitated from the tops of the towers of Didimotica into the Heber which runs at its foot. Amurath satisfied his sanguinary humour under a shadow of justice; but he made himself detested,

detested, when he condemned several young citizens, who had presumed to carry arms against him, to be put to death by the hands of their fathers. The fathers, who refused to execute this barbarous order, were massacred with their sons.

The emperor Paleologus did not dare resist the will of an ally who was almost his master. Though Andronicus had acted only for the interest of the empire, he was condemned to have his eyes put out, as was likewise his son, a child of five years old. But, either through chance, or pity in the executioners, neither of the two princes lost his sight. Andronicus had but one eye absolutely put out, and his son had only the sight injured, which he recovered some time after.

Immediately after this execution, Paleologus declared Manuel, his second son, his associate in the empire. This young prince fixed his residence at Theffalonica. He was no sooner arrived there, than, vexed to see the Greek empire become the prey of the Turks, he undertook to recover some of the neighbouring towns by force or by stratagem. Manuel procured intelligence in the town of Phera, but it was not so secret as not to be soon known to Amurath, who sent Karatine, the most experienced of his generals, to besiege Theffalonica. The townsmen, dreading the fate of those of Didimotica, threatened to deliver Manuel to his redoubtable enemy. The young emperor implored in vain the succour of his

J.C. 1387,
to 1389.
Heg. 789,
to 791.

Manuel
ascends the
throne. He
loses Theff
salonica.

J.C. 1387, his father, John Paleologus, who replied, that not
 to 1389.
 Heg. 789, only he should not send him any troops, but even,
 to 791.
 that, if he appeared before Constantinople, the
 gates should be shut against him. Manuel hastened to make use of his only remaining resource: on receiving this answer from the emperor his father, he surrendered Thessalonica to the Turkish general, and going himself to Adrianople, he presented himself as a suppliant before the sultan, who, after a severe reprimand, willingly pardoned Manuel the occasion that he had given him to take Thessalonica without striking a blow.

The emperor Paleologus goes into the West.

Paleologus, penetrated with shame and grief, left the government of his dominions to his sons, to go and entreat succours of the Christian princes of the West against the barbarians. He designed to abjure the Greek schism at the feet of the catholic chief. Pope Urban V. loaded him with prayers and benedictions; but that was all. He advised him to seek succours in the courts of the other Christian princes. The emperor began with France. Charles V. who so justly merited the surname of Wise, received Paleologus with honor; but he was too much engaged against his real enemies to seek others so distant from his frontiers. The French king refused the Greek emperor forces which he could better employ elsewhere; and the latter, discouraged by this refusal, made no other effort. In returning through Italy, he was arrested at Venice for debts
 that

that he had contracted there, and which his sons did not pay 'till some time after, with the subsidies that they were obliged to gather from the subjects of the empire. After this humiliation, Paleologus returned to his dominions, bringing with him, as the sole fruit of this painful journey, the pope's benediction, and the liberty of having mass said by a Romish priest, on a portable altar which the sovereign pontiff had given him.

J.C. 1387,
to 1389.
Heg. 789,
to 791.

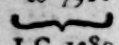
Whilst Paleologus was making vain efforts to repair the misfortunes of his empire, Amurath secured and extended his. His policy served him as much as his arms. An alliance, and some negotiations, procured him two Mussulman states in Asia. The emir Ierman Ogli gave his daughter to Bajazet, Amurath's second son, and his successor on the throne, for Contusus was heard no more of after the putting out of his eyes. This princess had for portion three towns, situated in the Upper Phrygia, contiguous to the dominions of Amurath, namely: Cutaia, Agrigos, and Touchanlik. Soon after, the sultan made a still more important conquest, which he owed only to his address and acquired reputation. Ahmid Ogli, emir of a province, to which he had given his name, zealous for the advancement of the Mussulman faith, fancied that he ought to resign his dominions to the envoy of God; he voluntarily made himself tributary to the sultan Amurath, and, dying without children, the province

Amurath makes several conquests, both by alliances and arms. He returns into Europe, engages an army of confederates, and is killed, after having gained the victory.

F

of

J.C. 1387, of Ahmida was indissolubly united to the Turkish
to 1389.
Heg. 789, empire.

 Amidst all these successes, Amurath learned
J.C. 1389.
Heg. 791. that Karatine, whom he had left in Europe at the
head of the janissaries and spahis, had reduced almost all Albania. The prodigious number of women and children that were sent across the straits of Gallipoli to repopulate Asia, convinced this prince of the solidity of his conquests. In order to oppose the progress of the Ottomans, Lazarus, prince of Servia, had formed an army of Wallachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, Triballians, and those Albanians that had not been subjugated. Amurath repassed the sea, and, without loss of time, placed himself at the head of his troops; he met the confederates in the plains of Caffovia, and voluntarily accepted battle, which they had the assurance to offer him. The conflict was terrible on both sides; the janissaries gave proofs of that courage and discipline on which Amurath had counted: the spahis, armed with long lances adorned with streamers, made great slaughter of the Hungarian cavalry, who, not being covered with defensive arms, seemed to present themselves to the strokes of the vanquisher. At length victory declared for the Turks; which when thought certain, Amurath alighted from his horse, and walked on the field of battle. He remarked, with astonishment, that most of the dead bodies of the enemy were young men without beards.

Karatine,

Karatine, his general of the army, replied to him on this occasion, that it could not be expected any others than rash young men would risk themselves against the swords of Muffulmen. Whilst he was yet speaking, a wounded Albanian, who was biting the ground near them, collected all his force, or rather all his rage, to strike at the sultan, whom he knew by the magnificence of his arms, and the profound respect paid him by his followers. The wretch was hacked in pieces on the spot, and the emperor died about two hours after, in the middle of his chiefs, who sincerely cursed this bloody victory.

J.C. 1389.
Heg. 791.

Amurath lived seventy-one years, of which he reigned thirty. He contributed, as much as his predecessors, to the elevation and splendor of the Ottoman empire. This prince was equally feared by his enemies and subjects: his extreme severity had introduced admirable order, both into his army and the administration of justice. The respect too which Amurath affected for religion, did not a little contribute to make him respected in his turn. This prince never undertook any thing important, without having implored aloud the succour of Heaven. One day, Amurath was besieging Bolina or Appollonia, a town of Thrace, regarded as impregnable. After several useless assaults and much blood spilt, the sultan fell on his knees, and beseeched God to manifest his power and the truth of Mahomet's worship;

J.C. 1389.
Heg. 791.

which he had no sooner done, than the janissaries recommenced the assault, and carried the place: this success still passes for a miracle among the Turks. Moreover, Amurath signalized his zeal by several useful establishments; he founded, in almost every large town which he desolated, medresses or public schools, and imarets or hospitals. He was embalmed and carried to Bursa, where the princes of the reigning family had thus far been interred. Bajazet, his son, honored him with a magnificent tomb.

J.C. 1389,
to 1401.
Heg. 791,
to 804.

B A J A Z E T I.

FOURTH REIGN.

AMURATH was no sooner dead, than the soldiers proclaimed Bajazet, his eldest son, emperor. Iacub Thelebi, Amurath's second son, attempted to make himself a party in the army; but his revolt was soon punished, and he himself strangled, before the new emperor had thought even of the obsequies of his father. Lazarus, despot of Servia, the author of the war, and who had been taken prisoner in the last battle, was likewise sacrificed to the manes of the old emperor. He was beheaded before the dead body of that prince. Bajazet, in the very beginning of

of his reign, signalized his sanguinary humour and the ambition with which he was devoured. He had married, as we have seen, the daughter of Ierman Ogli, prince of Upper Phrygia: this alliance did not protect that sovereign from the avidity of his son-in-law. Bajazet was no sooner arrived in Asia, than, under pretext of Ierman Ogli's tribute not being paid, he fell on his estates, and, in less than two months, united them to the Ottoman crown, after which he banished his father-in-law to Ipsala; but the latter, fearing the cruelty of the sultan, fled into Persia, where, during his latter years, he led a miserable, wandering life.

J.C. 1389,
to 1401.
Heg. 791,
to 804.

Bajazet
seizes the
dominions
of Ierman
Ogli.

An enemy more worthy of Bajazet soon drew him into Europe: this was Stephen, sovereign of Moldavia. Stephen was a warlike prince; he had made conquests from the Poles and Hungarians, and for two years past had beaten Amurath's generals. The emperor resolved to avenge his father; he had a bridge thrown over the Danube, entered Moldavia, and came and encamped on the borders of the river Siretus, at a village called Rasboé. Stephen, as ardent as the Turkish emperor, did not long delay to join him; the battle was soon begun, and, after an obstinate conflict, the Moldavians were vanquished. Their prince fled the last, when he repaired to the gates of Nols, a fortified town, in which he had left his mother and children.

He is beaten in Europe by Stephen, sovereign of Moldavia.

This

J.C. 1389, This princess came on the ramparts, and refused
 to 1401.
 Heg. 791, to let her son enter the town. "Go," said she
 to 804.
 to him, "repair your shame, and perish in arms,
 "rather than live under this infamy." The Mol-
 davian, penetrated with this reproach, returned
 towards his army, and, by prayers and cries, re-
 assembled twelve thousand dispersed soldiers:
 with this troop, which was not the third of his
 army, he returned to the enemy, and found them
 scattered over the country, gathering booty. The
 Turks, who are very formidable at the first on-
 set, neither know how to keep their ranks, nor
 find their colours, when they think themselves
 certain of the victory. Stephen slew as many of
 them as he could meet with; and this little army
 well united, which the shame of the past, and
 the present success, rendered docile to the voice
 of their chief, was now irresistible.

Caraman
 Ogli is
 vanquished
 by Bajazet,
 and put to
 death.
 The sultan
 takes pos-
 session of
 his estates.

Caraman Ogli,* one of the most powerful
 emirs in Asia, having learned Bajazet's defeat
 in Europe, thought the instant favorable to
 ravage the dominions of this neighbour; but
 the sultan, who had just been vanquished, re-
 passed almost immediately into Asia, with an
 army quite fresh; the promptitude and facility
 with which he continually transported his troops
 from

* He was descended from one of the emirs that parted Asia minor with
 Othman, after the destruction of the kingdom of Iconia. His possessions,
 situated along the Mediterranean sea, adjoining to Syria, still bear the name
 of Caramania. They had not been divided like those of the other emirs.

from Asia to Europe, and from Europe to Asia, <sup>J.C. 1389,
to 1401.</sup> procured him the surname of Ilderim, which sig- <sup>Heg. 791,
to 804.</sup> nifies Lightening. The Turks, covetous and martial, joined in crouds the ensigns of a conqueror, whose high spirit was not to be brought down by a few misfortunes, and who paid services by parting his conquests with the soldiers, to whom he was indebted for them. And indeed, no Turkish emperor ever gave more timars than Bajazet. Moreover, he generously abandoned the booty to the soldiers. This custom had been the cause of his defeat in Moldavia, which he took care to indemnify himself for, against Caraman Ogli. The latter was besieging Kutaia, when the indefatigable Bajazet appeared before enemies, as much astonished at the rapidity of his course, as at the number and appearance of his troops. Caraman Ogli was defeated the first battle. In vain did he seek his safety in flight; he was taken and conducted to the feet of Bajazet, who had him instantly put to death. The two sons of this unfortunate prince were condemned to perpetual imprisonment: thus Caramania became the prey of the vanquisher. All the towns eagerly opened their gates to Bajazet, where he appeared less like a conqueror than a peaceable sovereign.

Bajazet had not imposed on himself the law of carrying arms only against the enemies of Islamism. This policy, which his predecessors had thought

J.C. 1389, thought necessary, cost them many perfidies.
to 1401.

Heg. 791, They had been obliged to seek pretences for ex-
to 804.

— tending the Ottoman empire at the expence of

He seizes
several
towns of
Armenia
and the
dominions
of the e-
mir Kur-
terum.

the followers of Mahomet. The monarch's ambition did not permit him to dissemble. Certain of being seconded by greedy soldiers, he declared war openly in Asia against the sultan Burham Elledin, prince of Armenia, and took from him in a single campaign, Amasia, Kokad, and several other towns. The year after, he seized the possessions of Kurterum, emir of Castamona, who was lately dead. His son, Isfendar, yielded up the heritage of his ancestors to the victorious arms of Bajazet.

Bajazet
beats an
army of
confeder-
ates in
Europe,
command-
ed by Si-
gismund,
king of
Hungary.
J.C. 1393.
Heg. 795.

His great success in Asia did not make him neglect Europe. He frequently crossed the straits of Gallipoli; he took some towns on the Danube, and reduced all Walachia. Sigismund, king of Hungary, justly alarmed at Bajazet's progress, persuaded the Christian princes to oppose the rapidity of his conquests. Every one, according to his abilities, or the fear which the Turks inspired him with, furnished troops to march under the Hungarian monarch, more interested than all of them to keep this dangerous neighbour in awe. Sigismund, at the head of a hundred thousand Christians, assembled for the common cause, undertook the siege of Nicopoli. Bajazet chose rather to march against the enemy with sixty thousand men, than leave them the time to as-

semble

semble a more numerous army; he flattered himself, that confederates, whose country, discipline, interests, and languages were so various, and moreover so little accustomed to the voice of their commanders, would be easily vanquished by his janissaries and spahis, so well disciplined and tractable. Bajazet attacked the Christians the very day he came up with them; the battle was bloody, and the defeat soon so general, that, in less than three hours, the whole confederate army was dispersed. They fled tumultuously from soldiers as fierce as valiant, who gave no quarter even to those that had thrown down their arms through terror: the greatest part of the chiefs was slain. Bajazet, in order to terrify all the western Europeans, who had armed more through religious zeal than personal interest, ordered all those to be cut in pieces that fell in the way of his soldiers. Sigismund saved himself almost alone by favor of a disguise and the obscurity of the night. Those, who escaped the slaughter, perished in great number through fatigue and hunger in arid, desolated plains.

J.C. 1393,
to 1401.
Heg. 791,
to 804.

This advantage, against the Christians, encouraged the insatiable Bajazet to a more considerable one. For a long time past the eastern empire, reduced almost to the city of Constantinople, seemed to expect that the Ottoman monarch would take possession of it. The successor of the Cæsars, trembling on the fragments

Bajazet sows the seeds of discord between Manuel and John Paleologus. Manuel abandons the throne to John.

J.C. 1393, of his throne, was, as we have seen, constrained
 to 1401.
 Heg. 795, to obey this barbarian. John Paleologus had
 to 804.

had the eyes of his son and grand-son put out, because that prince had attempted to serve his country against Amurath I. Since this, Bajazet had ordered him to erase two towers recently built for the defence of the city. Manuel, the son and successor of John, soon perceived that he could not defend his crown better than his predecessors. This crown did not belong to him in the order of natural succession; for Andronicus, his elder brother, who had undergone the operation of having his eyes put out by order of the feeble John Paleologus, was living at Selivrea, as was also John, his son and companion in misfortune. The same decree which had ordered the blinding of these two princes, had likewise excluded them from the empire; but, as we have already said, neither of them had absolutely lost his sight. They waited at Selivrea, hoping that fortune would one day restore them what had been wrested from them. Andronicus died, leaving John his son heir to his pretensions. In his last moments he recommended him to keep in with the sultan. Thus Manuel saw rise up against him, on the one side, a nephew who might pass for the lawful heir to the throne, and on the other, a powerful enemy ready to crush him. The sultan, accustomed to give him law in his court, had exacted that the causes between his subjects

subjects that traded to Constantinople, should be judged by a cadi, and that the Mussulmen should have the free exercise of their religion in the city. J.C. 1395,
to 1401.
Heg. 795,
to 804.

Since Bajazet's victory over Sigismund, he meditated the subversion of the remains of the Greek empire. John, the son of Andronicus, solicited his protection against his uncle Manuel, promising to give up Constantinople, as soon as he should be master of it, provided he were given what the Greeks still possessed in the Morea, to live like a sovereign there. Bajazet seized this occasion to destroy the Greeks by one another. Whilst he was constructing public edifices at Adrianople and Bursa, and enjoying, successively in each of these cities, the fruits of victory and peace, he committed ten thousand Turks to John, the son of Andronicus, to lay siege to Constantinople, or rather to disturb the emperor his uncle, and give the party which John might have in the city, an occasion of declaring themselves. This prince undertook to starve Constantinople, by ravaging its neighbourhood. Most of the places from whence this immense city drew its subsistence, had been conquered by the Turks. It was easy to interrupt the convoys. Manuel, seeing the impossibility of provisioning his capital, weary of an authority which had nothing real, and moreover, convinced that the Greek reign was just at an end, chose rather to see the throne sink under another than himself. Of

J.C. 1395,
to 1401.Heg. 797,
to 804.

his own free will and consent, he remitted to John, the son of Andronicus, with the vain title of emperor of the East, the keys of his city, full of enemies and foreign masters. He embarked immediately in the galleys of Constantinople, with some riches, to go and lead a wandering life in the different courts of Europe, less wretched, without doubt, than that of a sovereign, equally the contempt of his enemies and subjects.

When John was master of Constantinople, and proposed, or feigned to propose, to keep his word with Bajazet; all the Orders of the state conjured him to remain on his throne, protesting, that they would rather see their children massacred before their faces, and perish themselves in the flames, than live under the domination of barbarians. Notwithstanding this feeble resistance, such would certainly have been the fate of the Roman empire, if providence had not raised it up a defender, perfectly unexpected, who stopped Bajazet in the course of his prosperity. This defender was the invincible Timur, or Tamerlane, descended from Zengiskhan, the greatest conqueror of his age. This Tartarian prince, born at Samarcand in the country of the Sacae, on the frontiers of Parthia, was employed in his younger days to look after the stud of the king of the Massagettites. The necessity of attacking, and of self-defending, soon formed a warrior of a herdsman: this warrior performed prodigies of valour,

valour, and became, in a little time, the general of his master's armies. The king of the Massagettes dying, Tamerlane married his widow, and ascended his throne. He knew how to improve the discipline of his indefatigable Tartars. He conquered, with incredible rapidity, Asiatic Sarmatia, Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and forced the city of Bagdad to receive his yoke. He made himself the protector of the Mussulman princes that had not pretended to oppose him, and whom Bajazet fancied he had a right to oppress.

J.C. 1395,
to 1402.
Heg. 797,
to 804.

Tamerlane
stops the
course of
Bajazet's
conquests.

The sultan, who was absolutely on the point of taking possession of Constantinople, wanted besides to render Taharten, the emir of Arsenjan, his tributary. He ordered him to come to Bursa to lay at his feet a sum of money, which Bajazet demanded for tribute. Instead of obeying, Taharten fled to Georgia, where Tamerlane then was, to take shelter under his wings. The Tartarian monarch sent ambassadors to Bajazet, who addressed this prince with all the haughtiness of a conqueror of the world. He forbade him to dare disturb in future the Mussulman princes, whom he (Tamerlane) had taken under his protection, reminding Bajazet, that the law of the prophet did not allow him to oppress his brethren; he assured him, that the Tartars were ready to come and take his conquests from him by force, if he did not restore the Mahometans what he had unjustly

J.C. 1395, justly taken from them. Bajazet heard, for the
 to 1402.
 Heg. 797, first time, orders and menaces: he replied haugh-
 to 804.
 tily to the ambassadors, that he had for a long
 time wished to have a war with their master,
 and that if Tamerlane did not come to him, he
 would go and seek Tamerlane at the extremity
 of Persia.

On the receipt of this answer, the Tartar began
 his march for Asia minor. When he came near
 Sebast or Siwas, he met Mehemet, the bashaw
 of the country, who kept the field with what
 troops he had been able to collect. The bashaw
 was presently cut in pieces; and Siwas, though
 well fortified, held only eighteen days. The pre-
 sence of Tamerlane, whom nothing had yet re-
 sisted; determined the inhabitants to seek their
 safety in submission. They drove out the Turk-
 ish commander and implored the mercy of the
 vanquisher. Tamerlane pardoned all the Ma-
 hometans; but what Christians he found in the
 town, were put to the sword. It is thought that
 he had some repugnance to fight the enemy of the
 Christian name, for, instead of penetrating far-
 ther into Asia minor, he turned towards Syria,
 and prepared to attack the soudan of Egypt.

Tamerlane
 & Bajazet
 meet near
 Angora.

Bajazet, encouraged by this inaction, marched
 against Taharten, the author of the quarrel, de-
 feated him, seized his estates, and dragged his
 family after him in captivity. As soon as Ta-
 merlane had learned this act of hostility, he sent
 orders

orders to Bajazet to restore Taharten his liberty, his children, and his estates, and to remit him (Tamerlane) one of his sons as an hostage. Bajazet, meditating only to repel the insults of the Tartar, answered him by other insults to his ambassadors. Tamerlane, after a delay of three months, put himself at the head of a formidable army. Schilperger, a contemporary, who served under Tamerlane in this same army, makes it amount to sixteen hundred thousand men, Calcondilus gives him but eight hundred thousand. Undoubtedly this number will appear incredible to those that know how difficult it is to subsist a hundred thousand soldiers in the most fertile country. But one must suppose, that the Tartars, exposed day and night to the injuries of the air, were accustomed to the soberest and hardest of lives, and that all these hordes, that, in the preceding century, had so often changed climate, were equally numerous. Be that as it may, Tamerlane marched as far as Siwas, where he reviewed the different corps which joined him at that place; then continuing to advance into the Turkish territories, as he was about to lay siege to Angora or Ancyra, he learned that Bajazet was marching towards him, with an army, which, at the most, was not more than the half of his. Tamerlane made a march forward; he knew how to take other advantages besides number. He had more military knowledge than appeared in
an

J. C. 1395.
to 1402.Heg. 797.
to 804.

J.C. 1395, an age when the multitude of soldiers, courage,
 to 1402.
 Heg. 797, and bodily strength, composed the whole science
 to 804.
 of war.

Battle of
 Angora.

J.C. 1402.
 Heg. 804.

The Tartarian prince intrenched himself in his camp, leaving before him a dry plain, in which he hoped to hem in Bajazet, if he came to take possession of it, either by superiority of number, or by guarding several narrow passes which he had had the time to observe. Bajazet, accustomed to vanquish, longed to engage an enemy more formidable than all those whom he had yet met with. As he made long marches, he soon took possession of the camp which the Tartar seemed to have intended for him. Bajazet remained in this situation but a short time, before he saw himself compelled to give battle; this was what Tamerlane wanted.* He divided his army into three corps, at the head of which he placed eight of his sons and grandsons, who were all called Mirza, a title given by the Tartars only to kings' sons. It is said that Tamerlane passed the night preceding the battle in prayers; he affected an exterior religion before his soldiers.

Bajazet is
 defeated
 and taken
 prisoner.

Bajazet's troops were reduced to despair before the battle began. Since the evening, five thousand men were dead of thirst in his camp. The Turkish emperor gave the command of his right wing

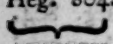
* This battle, between Tamerlane and Bajazet, was fought at the foot of mount Stella, in the very place where Pompey vanquished Mithridates.
Translator.

wing to Bazzirlaus, his wife's brother, son of Ierman Ogli whom he had dethroned. He put J.C. 1402.
Heg. 804.
four sons, whom he had had by several concubines, at the head of different corps. His whole army was distributed on a line, in order to offer a more extended front to his numerous enemies; but the fury of the Turks hurt their discipline. The janissaries and spahis hurried on without keeping their ranks or listening to the orders of their commanders. Moreover, the Tartar's elephants, carrying small towers full of soldiers, soon frightened the horses of the spahis. Bazzirlaus was killed in the beginning of the battle. Bajazet beheld from an elevated spot the defeat, or rather the disorder of his army: for his brave Turks, dispersed, without any hope of rallying, chose rather to precipitate themselves into the middle of the Tartarian battalions, and sell their lives dearly, than flee before the vanquisher. In vain did they attempt to persuade Bajazet to save himself by flight; he consumed this fatal day in useless efforts: the troops rallied at his voice, only to offer more victims to the enemy's sword. Having seen Mustapha his eldest son perish he ordered his vizier Ali bashaw to make the best of his way to Bursa with Solyman his second son, in order to preserve some remains of the Ottoman blood. Never was valour more unfortunate. The conqueror was at length prevented from continuing

H

the

J.C. 1402.
Heg. 804.

the slaughter by the heaps of dead. On the approach of night, Bajazet being descended from the little hill from which he had beheld this fatal sight, was presently attacked by a cloud of Tartars; his despair was unable to procure him the death which he sought. Those that had surrounded him were determined to take him alive; they wrested his sword from him, with which he had slain more than thirty Tartars; and when his strength was exhausted, they tied his hands with a bow-string, and placed him on a small horse, which carried him to the tent of the vanquisher. Tamerlane knew by the acclamations what captive they were bringing him. He had retired from the field at the decline of the day: the victory being over a long time, he was playing at chess with one of his sons. Neither the arrival of Bajazet, nor the acclamations, nor the eagerness of the chiefs, disturbed Tamerlane; the prisoner was obliged to wait at the entrance of the pavilion, 'till the Tartarian prince had finished his play. He then advanced to Bajazet, untied his hands, and ordered him to be clothed with a fine vest. The conqueror reproached his prisoner with his usurpations, and the blood that he had spilt. Bajazet replied haughtily; but; whatever some historians may have said, Tamerlane never forgot the respect due to the misfortunes of an equal become his slave.

slave.* He consoled him and swore that he would respect his life.

J.C. 1402.
Heg. 804.

Bajazet, encouraged by the clemency of the conqueror, requested to have two of his sons looked for, whose fate he was ignorant of. He had seen the eldest fall before his eyes. The second he had ordered to save himself; the two last were soon brought, like their father, to Tamerlane, who treated them as he had treated Bajazet.

Angora surrenders to Tamerlane. Bajazet is treated with humanity by his vanquisher, & finds his wife & two sons.

This prince was conducted to a tent, where, though strictly guarded, he was paid all the attention due to a monarch. After this victory, the governor of Angora delivered up the place and its citadel to

H 2

Tamerlane.

* The manner in which the Tartar received Bajazet, is differently reported. According to some he reproached him with his pride, cruelty, and presumption. *Dost thou not know, said he to him, that it is only the children of misfortune, that dare oppose our invincible power?* Others pretend, on the contrary, that Tamerlane received him favourably; that he conducted him to his own tent, where he made him eat with him, and that, to console him, he entertained him only with the vicissitudes and inconstancy of fortune. They add, that, either through compassion, or perhaps a sort of contempt, he sent him a hunting equipage, and that it gave the Tartar great pleasure to be able to make him comprehend, that he thought him fitter for the tail of a pack of hounds than the head of a great army. This at least was the explication which Bajazet himself gave to the mysterious present of his enemy. This unfortunate prince, not being master of his resentment, and full of a wild chagrin, replied haughtily: *Tell Tamerlane, he has not mistaken, in inviting me to an exercise, which has always been the pleasure of sovereigns, and that is much more suitable to Bajazet, descended from the great Amurath the son of Orcan, than to an adventurer like him, the commander of a banditti.*

Tamerlane soon returned to his character. This barbarian, irritated at such an injurious answer, immediately ordered Bajazet to be put, without a saddle, on one of the old horses that served to carry the baggage, and to be exposed in that situation to the contempt and raillery of the foldiers of the camp; which was immediately executed. At his return, this unfortunate

prince

J.C. 1402.
Heg. 804.

Tamerlane. The conqueror's sons dispersed themselves over Natolia and all the Ottoman dominions. The one that went to Bursa, to seize the treasures of Bajazet, had been prevented by Solyman. This prince, in his flight, had passed through that town, from whence he had taken every thing valuable, and had gained Guizelhissar, a place built by Bajazet directly facing Constantinople, designed to prevent the Greek emperors from entering Asia. Bursa was reduced almost to ashes; Nice was sacked; and the whole country, as far as the Bosphorus of Thrace, miserably laid waste. Bajazet's wife, the daughter of the prince of Phrygia, and sister of Bazzirlaus, killed in this fatal battle, was taken by Tamerlane's

prince was brought before Tamerlane, who, with a mock smile, asked him if this sort of ride were not one of the amusements of his illustrious ancestors? To this cruel raillery he added a still more sensible insult. Bajazet had married Mary, the daughter of the despot of Servia, who of all his wives was his greatest favorite. Tamerlane having taken this princess, cut off her petticoats just above her knees, and, in that situation, and half naked, he obliged her to serve him at table in presence of her husband. Bajazet, whose only remaining weapon was his tongue, enraged with anger and indignation, and perhaps furious with jealousy, told him, that, being sprung from the dirt, and descended from unknown parents, he ought to be ashamed of his life, at having contemned the blood royal, and insulted a princess, whose birth should have procured her respect.

The Tartar only laughed at the anger of his prisoner; he carried him with him in his retinue, and loaded him with heavy chains; it is said even that he confined him in an iron cage, like a wild beast. Bajazet could not long sustain so many outrages: some historians say, that, in order to put an end to a life so odious, he beat out his brains against the bars of his cage. Others, that a slave having insolently thrown him a poisoned bone, as to a dog, Bajazet, after having sharpened it with his teeth, pierced his throat with it. See *l'Histoire de Malte de Vertot*. TRANSLATOR.

lane's out parties, as she was fleeing from Burfa. J.C. 1402.
Heg. 804.
This prince sent her to her husband to console his captivity; the only violence, that he offered this princess, was, the obliging of her to abjure the Christian religion, in which she was born, and to embrace Islamism.

Tamerlane fixed his residence for some time at Kutaia, a town two days journey from Burfa, very agreeable by its situation, and by the temperature of the air. He gave public plays and warlike festivals there, to which the historians of his life assert that he invited Bajazet, in order to soften his captivity. Tamerlane, who pretended to have taken arms, only to repair the injustices of this prince, took Mehemet, the son of Caramanogli, from the prison to which the Turkish emperor had condemned him, and restored him the sovereignty possessed by his father. He restored likewise to Iacub Thelebi, the heir of Iermanogli, and to the other Mussulman princes dispossessed by Bajazet, the lands which they had lost; making them all his tributaries. He even gave Bajazet the title and investiture of the kingdom of Natolia. Tamerlane restores the princes their estates that Bajazet had subjugated. Death of Bajazet.
Notwithstanding the good J.C. 1403.
Heg. 805. treatment which the sultan received from Tamerlane, his chagrin shortened his days; he died in the train of the vanquisher, in a town called Akzaar. It was not, as some historians have pretended, by beating his head against the bars of an iron cage, in which he was never really imprisoned;

J.C. 1403.
Heg. 805.

imprisoned; but he died of the effects of an apoplexy, that became fatal to him, because this unfortunate prince, who wished only for death, refused every remedy which was earnestly offered him. His vanquisher gave him a magnificent funeral, and sent his body to Bursa to be interred with his ancestors.

Bajazet's prosperity rendered his end more bitter; he supported his fall as much worse, as he was fallen from such a height. Notwithstanding his passion for war, Bajazet, during a reign of fourteen years, did not neglect the advantages of peace. Besides the town of Guizelhissar, which he built opposite Constantinople, he adorned almost all the large ones of his empire, with mosques, public schools, hospitals, in short, every kind of building useful to the people, that could immortalize the magnificence of a monarch. But, like most conquerors, Bajazet was impetuous, haughty, and sanguinary. Tamerlane, who vanquished him in arms, surpassed him likewise in policy, in generosity, and particularly in justice.

INTERREIGN.

INTERREIGN.

J.C. 1403,
to 1406.
Heg. 805,
to 809.

UNDER SOLYMAN.

WE have observed, that, during the battle of Angora, at the time that Bajazet saw fortune declaring against him, he obliged his son Solyman to flee from the sword of the vanquisher, in order to save the remains of the Ottoman blood. This young prince, accompanied by Ali bashaw, his father's grand vizier, repaired to Constantinople to implore the clemency, not of John, but of Manuel Paleologus, who, heretofore, had resigned the throne to his nephew when he thought it ready to fall. But since the diversion of the Tartars, Manuel, recalled by all the Orders of the state, had resumed the authority, no longer thought tottering. The Greek monarch took advantage of the misfortunes of the Ottomans, if not to take from them all their European possessions, at least to divide their conquests. This prince preferred a partition to a war, even with the vanquished. He confirmed Solyman in the possession of Thrace, but reserved Theffalonica to himself, where he sent his nephew John, whom he had driven from the throne, leaving him the title of emperor. He again united to the Greek empire the towns beyond the Strimon

Solyman divides the European dominions with the Greeks. He receives an embassy from Tamerlane to announce the death of his father.

J.C. 1403,
to 1406.

Heg. 805,
to 809.

Strimon in Macedonia as far as Zetunion, all the places from Panima to the entrance of the Bosphorus, called the sacred entrance, and the forts on the borders of the Pont Euxine as far as Varna. After this treaty, Solyman retired to Adrianople, in order to resign himself to that immoderate debauchery which obscured all his shining qualities. This prince, finding himself in possession of a small sovereignty, seemed to have forgotten, that his father and brothers were languishing in captivity, and that a powerful enemy had almost destroyed their great empire. He was scarcely arrived at Adrianople, when he received an embassy from Tamerlane to inform him of the death of his father. This conqueror, whose name alone inspired terror, addressed a letter to the son of his prisoner, of which the following is the substance: he told him, that he considered it as his duty to testify to him the part he took in the misfortune of his father; that by it he had learned in what manner God confounds the great and those that consider every thing as just that their ambition suggests to them. “I have
“been,” continued he, “more favored by fortune perhaps than any one in the world. No
“man can look on my prosperity, without being
“struck with admiration. All this touches me
“less than the example of thy father, which
“teaches me to put voluntary bounds to my
“good fortune. I am willing then to forget
“that

“ that I have been the enemy of Bajazet; I am
 “ even disposed to be a father to his children,
 “ provided they expect from their conqueror
 “ the effects of my clemency. My first con-
 “ quests are sufficient for me, and I am not
 “ tempted by the careffes of an inconstant for-
 “ tune.”

We have said that Solyman was given to de-
 bauchery, particularly to wine, so much abhorred
 by the Mussulmen. He had drunk to excess of
 this dangerous liquor, when he received Tamer-
 lane's letter. Being become audacious, he had
 the boldness to return him a haughty answer.
 Tamerlane punished it, only by conferring on
 Musa, Bajazet's second son, the title of sovereign,
 which he had at first intended for the eldest.
 “ Receive,” said he to him in a letter, “ the
 “ heritage of thy father. A soul truly noble
 “ knows how to conquer kingdoms and how to
 “ restore them.” Tamerlane, after having re-
 established all the Mussulman princes that Bajazet
 had dethroned, returned to his Tartarian domi-
 nions, without reserving to himself a single con-
 quest. He had made Mahomet, the youngest of
 Bajazet's sons, prince of Amasia; but this con-
 queror did not leave the two youngest of his pri-
 soner's sons a sufficient force to oblige the eldest
 to observe the dispositions made in their favor.

Solyman having learned that his brother Musa
 considered himself sultan, passed the straits of

I

Gallipoli.

J.C. 1403,
 to 1406
 Heg. 805,
 to 809.

Solyman
 replies to
 Tamerlane
 haughtily,
 who di-
 vides Baja-
 zet's domi-
 nions be-
 tween the
 two young-
 est sons.

J.C. 1403,
to 1406.

Heg. 805,
to 809.

Solyman
disputes
the sove-
reignties of
his bro-
thers.

Gallipoli. This prince, all vicious as he was, had valour and talents for war; he marched straight to Bursa. Musa, who had not expected such a sudden attack, had not had time to prepare troops to receive him; he fled to Cogni to Caraman Ogli, to save himself from his brother's resentment. Solyman fixed himself at Bursa as lawful sovereign, and sent orders to the different governors, called sangiacs, to endeavour to recover the provinces near their governments, which Tamerlane had divided from the Ottoman crown. He would not undertake any thing in person against the princes that his father had formerly vanquished, as the repeated attempts of Musa required constant attention. This fugitive sovereign had found at Cogni, only an asylum; he wanted assistance. He went and asked it of the emir of Castamona, hoping that this prince, who, like himself, owed his re-establishment to Tamerlane, would defend the work of his benefactor. But this emir, still less willing to help than Caraman Ogli, forbade the Turkish prince to enter his dominions, for fear of giving offence to his brother. On this refusal, Musa embarked in a small vessel, which he found near Nice, flattering himself he should be more fortunate in Europe. Solyman, elated with this success, formed a close alliance with the prince of Castamona, and returned to Bursa, where he resigned himself to drunkenness. The only way to make

court

court to him was to flatter his vices. One may judge with what indignation the real Mahometans, who were then very numerous, saw their law so openly transgressed. Solyman imprudently affronted Mahomet, prince of Amasia, his youngest brother, by answering the ambassadors which this prince had sent to pay him homage, that his subjects had no right to treat with him as sovereigns. He chased away, rather than dismissed, these ambassadors, whom he would never acknowledge; he would have marched against the usurper of Amasia, as he called him, if his brother Musa had not cut out more serious work for him in Europe.

J.C. 1403,
to 1406.
Heg. 805,
to 809.

This prince had in fact taken advantage of the supineness of his enemy, and of all the time that the latter had lost. Solyman, by his debaucheries, had lost the affection of all his officers. Musa appeared in the eyes of these malecontents the avenger of their transgressed law; this prince, with a corps of Walachians, which he had assembled, had no difficulty to make himself master of Adrianople, and to get himself declared sultan there; but he remained in that place, only whilst his brother was raising an army and crossing the straits of Gallipoli. Musa had no regular troops; he left Adrianople, of which he stiled himself the sovereign, and fled into Walachia, leaving to Solyman the care of destroying himself. This elder brother, become

J.C. 1403, the horror of every man of virtue, was surrounded
 to 1406.
 Heg. 805, only by attendants, plunged in the same vice as
 to 809.
 himself. His contempt for the Mahometan law, and for all the customs which the Mussulmen consider as of great importance, broke the sole ties that engaged them to their prince, and made them soon look on him as an usurper. The good Mussulmen exclaimed, that the Ottoman empire was about to fall, since the crimes of its master were continually soliciting the vengeance of Heaven; that God would raise up another Tamerlane to punish the Ottomans all together for so many impieties, of which they made themselves accomplices, by tamely permitting them.

Solyman's
 servants
 desert him,
 and go to
 Musa.

Musa fomented at a distance this revolt. Though he had not had the firmness to wait for Solyman at the head of his army, he fought him with success in the heart of his court. He opposed an exterior piety to the scandalous debaucheries of his brother, and assured all those whom the public indignation drew to him, that he would not dethrone Solyman, were it not to avert the evils which menaced their cherished nation. The great officers, the bashaws, and all those that commanded the troops, eagerly listened to the propositions of Musa. Even Ali, Solyman's grand vizier, to whom Bajazet had intrusted his youth after the battle of Angora, resolved to abandon a master whom he had never been able to divert from debauchery. The unhappy prince,

prince, more and more besotted by the wine, ^{J.C. 1403,}
 did not perceive what was plotting under his ^{to 1406.}
 eyes. All his officers quitted him one after an- ^{Heg. 805,}
 other, without his seeming to regard it; none ^{to 809.}
 remained with him, but his companions in vice,
 who made him forget both the cares of war and
 of the throne, as soon as those were out of sight
 that sometimes forced him to a remembrance of
 them. Musa's army was increased by all these
 chiefs, who had prevailed on their soldiers to
 follow them by parties: he marched towards
 Adrianople, without Solyman's appearing to trou-
 ble himself about it, or even deigning to inform
 himself of all these commotions. The male-
 contents acquired such additional force as they
 advanced, that there was no appearance that So-
 lyman could ever defend himself. The unhappy
 prince awoke from his supineness, when it was
 too late; he had no longer about him, either
 ministers, chiefs, or soldiers; and his finances
 were exhausted. Hearing nothing from the peo-
 ple but curses, he considered flight as his only
 resource; and hoping to find some succour from
 the Greeek emperor, his ally, he determined to
 go and solicit assistance of that prince, whom his
 father had so cruelly oppressed.

Solyman determined too late on this necessary
 step. The scouts of Musa's army arrived at
 Adrianople exactly as his brother left it. The
 unfortunate prince fled; his horse, swifter than
 those

J.C. 1403, those of his retinue, carried him, in less than an
 to 1406.
 Heg. 805, hour, to a village fifteen miles from Adrianople,
 to 809.
 where, thinking himself in safety, he would, whilst
 Solyman, he waited for his retinue, drink some wine, which
 pursued by his brother, he could not long do without. The inhabitants
 is taken, & killed. discovered him by the magnificence of his dress,
 J.C. 1406, and, still more, by this infraction of the law of
 Heg. 809. Mahomet, of which they believed him alone
 capable. Five of them, as much through indig-
 nation as the hopes of meriting a recompense
 from the vanquisher, determined to stop him:
 Solyman defended himself so bravely, that he
 killed two of his assailants, and obliged the three
 others to kill him, in order to take his person.
 They carried his body to Musa, who, seeming to
 detest this action, which he well knew how to
 make his advantage of, had the three murderers
 burnt, and rendered Solyman all the funeral
 honors due to an emperor; he had him interred
 in the sepulchre of his grand-father Amurath.
 Solyman reigned four years and ten months.
 The Turks neither count him, nor his brother
 Musa, in the number of their emperors, as nei-
 ther of them reigned over all the empire lost by
 Bajazet, which was reunited only in the hands of
 Mahomet, the youngest of his sons, whom they
 look on as their fifth emperor.

INTERREIGN.

INTERREIGN,

J.C. 1406,
to 1413.
Heg. 809,
to 816.

UNDER MUSA.

SOLYMAN was no sooner dead, than Musa determined on recovering what that prince had ceded to the emperor of Constantinople, flattering himself that this enemy would be easily vanquished. He chose rather to attack the Greeks than his brother Mahomet, to whom he offered the partition of the Ottoman crown: he left him master of all the Asiatic possessions, provided the latter claimed nothing in Europe. Musa despoils the Morea, Servia, and several European states.

Mahomet, who had undertaken to purge Asia of all the brigands that Tamerlane had left there, appeared contented with the proposal. On this, Musa, with the assistance of his grand vizier, Kircan Mouliak, meditated conquests. He entered the Morea, where he took Peraverd and Matruma, and then possessed himself of Servia. Sigismund, king of Hungary, was unable to defend it, though at the head of a numerous army; Musa vanquished this prince in a pitched battle near Semendriah; but he stained his victory by his excessive cruelty. Kircan Mouliak, his grand vizier, had disposed the order of battle, and alone gained it. The sanguinary sultan, who reaped the advantage of it, only ordered an useless slaughter.

J.C. 1406, slaughter. Every thing on his way was put to
 to 1413.
 Heg. 809, fire and sword. The historians speak even of a
 to 816.
 feast, which Musa gave his officers, over the dead
 bodies of the Christians. The following year,
 Musa, tired of the fatigues of war, sent his generals to besiege Thessalonica, which they soon made themselves masters of.

Musa is
 betrayed by
 his officers,
 and van-
 quished by
 his brother.

Whilst Musa was resigning himself to effeminacy in his palace at Adrianople, and ordering murders and ravages from the bosom of sloth, his brother Mahomet was commanding in person against gangs of assassins, re-establishing order, and giving repose to Asia. This contrast made Musa's generals wish to change masters. Kircan Mouliak, his grand vizier, and Ornusbeg, one of his generals, wrote to Mahomet, that he alone was worthy of commanding the Mussulmen; that it was absolutely necessary to reunite under the same sceptre all the possessions which his father had lost; that if he would enter Europe, as the Greek emperor pressed him to, they would be answerable to him for the passage and straits of Gallipoli. These assurances, and Manuel's importunities, determined Mahomet to recover the dominions which his father had governed. In order to render his cause more favorable, he published, that he was going to avenge the death of Solyman. This prince, being born of the same mother as himself, seemed nearer to Mahomet than Musa. Mahomet risked his passage to Europe,

Europe, feebly escorted. The vizier and the other general went towards these straits, apparently to guard the borders, but in reality to favor Mahomet's landing, and to settle with him the operations of the ensuing campaign; for the season was too far advanced to act immediately, and Mahomet had only designed to try, what degree of confidence he might put in these traitors. As soon as this prince had settled his plan of acting, and returned into Asia, the grand vizier and his accomplice went back to Musa. Mahomet exerted his utmost efforts to raise a numerous army. Being come to Scutari in the beginning of the spring, the Greek emperor sent him galleys to transport his troops across the Bosphorus, under promise, that in case his arms were fortunate, he would restore Manuel what Musa had wrested from him. Meanwhile, Musa learned that his brother, in concert with the Greek emperor, had passed the straits, and was marching towards Adrianople. The traitorous grand vizier drew on his master, almost against his will, to engage the enemy: the two armies were scarcely in sight of each other, when that of Musa, already inferior in number, became much more so, by the defection of the vizier and Ornusbeg, who deserted full speed to Mahomet's camp, at the head of the best soldiers, whom they had seduced from their master. Mahomet attacked vigorously the remains of his unfortunate

J.C. 1406,
to 1413.
Heg. 809,
to 816.

K

brother's

J.C. 1413.
Heg. 816.

brother's army. This combat was nothing but a rout. Musa, obliged to flee, as he had almost always done, plunged into a morass, where being pursued by some spahis, he defended himself valiantly, 'till one of them chopped off his arm with his sword. The prince, not being assisted in time, died from the loss of blood.* His body was carried to Mahomet, who sent it to Bursa to be interred with his ancestors, after which he marched to Adrianople as a conqueror, where he received the homage of the army, and of all the bashaws.

J.C. 1413,
to 1416.
Heg. 816,
to 819.

MAHOMET I.

FIFTH REIGN.

Mahomet succeeds to the throne without contradiction, and receives homage from all the tributary princes, except Caraman Oglu.

MAHOMET's accession to the throne gave universal joy throughout the empire. The soldiers saw with pleasure this sovereign, whom they had learned to respect. The Greek emperor sent him ambassadors, to remind him of his word, and to reclaim the price of his services. Mahomet's policy was, to be faithful to his engagements; he loaded Manuel's ambassadors with

* The Turkish historians say, that he was put to death by order of his brother Mahomet. We have followed the historian Ducas, who was on the spot at the time of the event, and whose account too is more conformable to the character of Mahomet.

with honors, and consented to restore him Thes-
salonica, with all the fortresses bordering on the
Pont Euxine. He favorably received likewise
the envoys of the princes of Walachia, Bulgaria,
and Moldavia, received the tributes which they
offered him, promising his protection and a lasting
peace to all of them, as long as they re-
mained in subjection. This prince, in the history
of the Turks, is counted the fifth emperor. All
the time which passed between the fall of Bajazet
and the accession of Mahomet to the throne, is
considered only as an interreign. He was ac-
knowledged in Asia as in Europe, except at first
by Caraman Ogli, the son of him, whose estates
had been invaded by Bajazet, and who had lost
his head by order of that prince. Caraman
Ogli, re-established, as we have seen, on his
father's throne, by Tamerlane, had been kept
in order since, by the presence of Mahomet;
but as soon as the latter was gone to Europe, he
flattered himself with the conquest of Bursa, as
much more easily, as, since Bajazet, the Ottoman
dominions in these two different parts of the
world, had not belonged to the same master.
Mahomet subdued this rebel, as likewise the
prince of Castamona his accomplice; he seized
the possessions of the latter, and reduced those of
Caraman to a simple tribute.

It was necessary to have the authority and ta-
lents of Mahomet to restore the Ottoman empire

J.C. 1413, the form, which the invasion of the Tartars, and
to 1416.
Heg. 816, the divisions and vices of the sons of Bajazet, had
to 819.

destroyed. All the tributary princes, even the
bashaws, considered themselves as so many independent sovereigns. There was still a bashaw of Smyrna, called Sineis, to be reduced, who, under the feeble Solyman, had taken possession of Ephesus and Nimphea, and who hoped to maintain this usurpation, though all his neighbours were returned to their obedience. In the beginning of the spring, Mahomet marched towards Smyrna, where Sineis, who was fortifying Ephesus, had left his wife and children. Mahomet had no sooner encamped before the town, than the princes of Phoea, Upper Phrygia, Caria, Lesbos, and Scio, came in a crowd to offer him their tribute and homage. Mahomet kindly received all these Greeks, and treated them as if they had been Mahometans. The siege of Smyrna lasted but twelve days: Mahomet demolished the fortifications immediately on its surrendering. It was the policy of this prince to preserve but very few fortified towns, particularly in the inland part of this large state; they only served, he said, to invite and favor revolts. Sineis ran to beg forgiveness. Mahomet spared his life and left him his property, contenting himself with taking from him the government which he had abused.

Mahomet
réduces Si-
neis to o-
bedience,
& receives
homage
from several
Greek
princes.

The

The sultan was not so fortunate by sea as he had been on the continent. The republic of Venice was at that time very powerful: their possessions extended from cape Istria to Constantinople, and they transacted most all the commerce of Europe. The Turks, much worse mariners than the Venetians, (for they knew but little of working vessels, still less of their construction,) were infinitely more greedy. Being accustomed to pillage by land, they saw with envy merchantmen, richly laden, returning from Trebizond; they lay wait for, and attacked them when they thought them badly defended. The Venetians, offended at this piracy, sent an ambassador to Mahomet, who made complaints, and offered the sultan either war or peace with the republic. Mahomet, convinced by the law of his prophet, that all was lawful that was taken from Christians who paid no kind of tribute, answered the Venetians roughly, and prepared to give a good reception to this naval army, with which he was menaced.

J.C. 1416.
Heg. 819.

The Venetians attacked the Turks by sea & beat them.

J.C. 1416.
Heg. 819.

These republicans advanced towards the Hellespont with fifteen galleys, commanded by admiral Loredan; they proceeded as far as the entrance of the straits of Gallipoli. Thirty Turkish galleys came out, commanded by Gialibeg, the captain bashaw. Admiral Loredan, at the head of his fifteen galleys, was sensible of his superiority over the Turks by the construction of his vessels,

J.C. 1416, vessels, the address of his sailors, and the talents
 to 1419.
 Heg. 819, of the admiral and officers who commanded under
 to 822.
 him; he knew how to gain the wind, and dispose the attack in such manner, that the sun might dazzle the eyes of the enemy. Though powder was already invented, the use of fire arms was as yet very rare; they were but little used in the East, and even in the European armies. Clouds of arrows, well aimed, destroyed almost as many Turks, whilst the latter were unable to see where to direct theirs in return. The boarding was almost as favorable to the Christians, as the combat at a distance had been. The Venetians killed a great many, among others, the enemy's admiral; they captured more than half their galleys; the rest were sunk, or re-entered the straits only in a shattered condition. Let a naval engagement be ever so unfortunate, it rarely produces such fatal consequences as a battle by land. The Turkish coast was too well guarded to admit of the Venetians' attempting to make a descent. But they received from this victory the fruit of their expectation; the sea became more free, and their commerce more certain.

The History of Persia.

An unexpected event prevented Mahomet from endeavouring to repair this maritime defeat. He learned, that towards the entrance of the gulf of Ionia, opposite the isle of Scio, a novator had begun to preach, sword in hand, and that his
 proselytes.

profelytes were as many foldiers. This man, J.C. 1416,
to 1419.
Heg. 819,
to 822. who was called Percligia, prescribed a voluntary poverty, the community of every kind of property, except that of women, above all the not tolerating of Mahometanism, and the necessity of offering to God bloody sacrifices of those whom he termed Blasphemers and Infidels. This pretended prophet was clothed only with a tunic; he marched at the head of several followers, and murdered all those whom he was unable to persuade. Several Greek monks favored this hypocritical brigand, published his miracles, became his disciples, and persecuted in his name. Their retreat was in inaccessible mountains, from whence they spread themselves into Lydia and Ionia, where they made either profelytes or martyrs. The bashaws of these two provinces had been repulsed at the head of the troops that they had been able to assemble. Mahomet sent against them his son Amurath, only twelve years old, at the head of sixty thousand men, having Bajazet, the grand vizier, for his lieutenant. Though this war was short, it was excessively bloody. The Mahometans found every where these fanatics determined to die. The entrance of the mountains was so well defended, that the guards stood to be killed to a man, never fleeing, nor giving, nor receiving quarter. They hoped, as well as the Mussulmen, to charm Heaven sword in hand. Not one of Percligia's disciples would renounce

J.C. 1416,
to 1419.
Heg. 822.

renounce his errors: Even those that at first had been gained by fear, were become enthusiasts like their master. Of all those that accompanied this impostor in such a large number, not one escaped, either man, woman, or child. Percligia himself was taken; he would never conceal his name, nor renounce what he had taught. Spite of the dreadful torments to which he was put at Ephesus, where he was conveyed, he declared himself always the envoy of God, the organ of truth, the destroyer of superstition and false worship; he was at last nailed on a cross, where he expired, declaring always, that he should not die, and that he would propagate his law in every corner of the universe. And indeed, it was reported that he was not dead; they would even have it, that he had appeared again in several towns in Greece; but those of his disciples who had escaped the sword of the Mussulmen, dispersed, as soon as they had lost their master. This sect was the cause of shedding much blood, against the will of Mahomet, who valued men's lives more than any of his predecessors had done.

Towards the end of his reign, Mahomet gave the government of Amasia to the young Amurath his son and heir apparent. He wished to accustom him betimes to the fatigues of war and the cares of government, in order to be witness to his first faults, and to be in a situation to repair them. The sultan himself had committed

one,

one, which was the cause of many evils during his reign and his successor's. We have said that he pardoned a bashaw of Smyrna, called Sineis, who was guilty of rebellion, and only took from him his government. Mahomet, who easily forgot offences, a few years after, gave this same officer the government of Nicopoli, and consequently an opportunity of again betraying him. Sineis did not fail of making that use of it. Having found among the dregs of the people a man perfectly resembling Mustapha, the elder brother of Mahomet, who was killed at the battle of Angora by the side of Bajazet his father, he resolved to set up this phantom against the lawful sultan. There were but few Mahometans that had seen the real Mustapha perish; Sineis instructed the impostor, and was the first to acknowledge him in Nicopoli, publishing, that the throne belonged to him, as the eldest of the house of Ottoman. The love of novelty, riches, and honors, soon procured the pretended Mustapha a crowd of subjects. Every one was anxious to acknowledge him, in order to merit the favor which he promised all those, who should assist him to recover his sceptre. Sineis and he went into Thessaly, where they recruited considerably, publishing every where fables, which easily gained credit.

J.C. 1416,
to 1419.
Heg. 822.

Sineis raises up an impostor to dispute the throne with Mahomet.

J.C. 1419.
Heg. 822.

Mahomet was quiet at Bursa, when he was presently informed of the progress of the pre-

L

tended

J.C. 1419,
to 1421.

Heg. 822,
to 824.

tended Mustapha, and that it was time to attack this impostor, whom he had at first seemed to contemn. He passed the straits of Gallipoli at the head of sixty thousand men. The sultan was beloved; he flattered himself that his presence would disperse these conspirators. But Sineis, comprehending the necessity of choosing between the most cruel death and the favor of a monarch that would be the work of his hands, encouraged the pretended Mustapha, whose interest was the same as his, if not greater. They invented a fable, the artifice and probability of which deceived all those that could not, or would not, seek the truth. They wrote to the Greek emperor, and sent to the governors that commanded for him in Europe to implore assistance. They marched at the head of a confused rabble of soldiers, raised in haste. Mahomet came up with this feeble army near Theffalonica, which his janissaries and spahis dispersed presently. The rebels fled, because Mustapha and Sineis did not dare oppose the vanquisher long, for fear of being made prisoners.

The Greek
emperor
gives him
an asylum.

As soon as victory declared against them, they took refuge in Theffalonica. The next day Mahomet summoned Demetrius Lascaris, the governor of the place for Manuel, to deliver him the two fugitives. On the refusal of this officer, the sultan sent one of the bashaws of his retinue to menace Demetrius with a siege. The latter,
always

always believing, or feigning to believe, Mustapha the elder brother of the emperor, answered, ^{J.C. 1419, to 1421.} that he should not betray an unfortunate prince, ^{Heg. 822, to 824.} who had requested of him an asylum, nor any of those who had accompanied his flight, without an express order from Manuel his master. What most astonishes is, that, notwithstanding the friendship in which the two emperors lived, the pretended Mustapha found the same protection from Manuel as from Demetrius. In vain did Mahomet cry out that he was an impostor: the Greek emperor constantly treated this adventurer as the son of the unfortunate Bajazet. All that the Turk could obtain, was, that this pretended brother of his should be confined, as likewise Sineis, in the isle of Lemnos, and that both of them should be strictly guarded there for the remainder of their lives. Manuel confirmed this agreement by oath.

Whatever his opinion of the birth of the pretended Mustapha might be, his proceeding was unjust; for, if the latter really were the eldest of the Ottoman house, Manuel should not have deprived him of his throne and liberty; if, on the contrary, he was but an impostor, he should not have screened him from the chastisement which he so justly merited, still less have exposed the dominions of his ally to troubles which nothing but Mustapha's death could put an end to. This last consideration was perhaps what determined

J.C. 1419, Manuel ; for, whatever friends the Greeks were of
 to 1421.
 Heg. 822, Mahomet, it was not without envy that they
 to 824.
 saw the prosperity of the house of Ottoman.

Death of
 Mahomet.

J.C. 1421.
 Heg. 824.

Mahomet was determined to punish the Walachians for the sort of protection that they had given the pretended Mustapha : he ravaged their country, took some towns, and exacted from them an additional tribute. He had hardly finished this expedition, when he was attacked with a bloody flux, which, in a few days, carried him to the grave. When Mahomet saw himself near his end, he sent for his two viziers Bajazet and Ibrahim, and recommended them to be faithful to Amurath his eldest son, who at that time was commanding an army on the frontiers of Amasia. His two other children, who were neither of them above seven years old, he placed under the guardianship of the Greek emperor, for fear, as it is said, lest their brother should have them strangled. This prince died at Adrianople, where he had been conveyed by his own orders, aged forty-seven. He reigned eight years and ten months, more peaceably than had yet been seen among the Turks. Mahomet restored to the Ottoman empire all the splendor that it had lost under Bajazet. Justice and lenity reigned with him; but it is very rare, that men know how to keep constantly that just medium which prudence prescribes, and without which, even virtues become weaknesses. Mahomet's clemency often encouraged

encouraged rebellions, which troubled both his and his successor's reign. His viziers concealed his death, according to his own instructions, in order to give Amurath, his eldest son, time to arrive from Amasia. During forty-one days, justice was administered in the name of Mahomet, as if he had been still living: after which, the new emperor sent the body of his father to Bursa, where it was interred in the mosque which that prince had founded.

J.C. 1427.
Heg. 824.

A M U R A T H II.

SIXTH REIGN.

AMURATH II. was eighteen years old when he ascended the throne. He received an embassy from the Greek emperor Manuel, immediately thereon, to demand his two brothers, in order to their being educated at Constantinople, according to the will of Mahomet. The Greek prince offered likewise to renew the alliance between them. The grand vizier Bajazet, replied in the name of his master, that the Ottomans would never be the first disturbers of the peace established between the two crowns, but that a Mussulman sovereign could not confide the education of two princes of his house to Infidels, and

The emperor Manuel raises up the false Mustapha against the new sultan.

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

and that, in short, Amurath was resolved not to comply with a disposal, which Mahomet never could nor ought to have made. The ambassadors retired apparently discontented; but Manuel was seeking only a pretext for a rupture. He was not long in seizing it; he sent Demetrius Lasca-
ris, with ten galleys, to the isle of Lesbos, for the pretended Mustapha and Sineis his companion in fortune; this was the same Demetrius who had once already saved their lives. Manuel, who wanted only to profit by the dissensions of the Turks, prescribed to the phantom that he set against Amurath, conditions, which the pretended prince agreed to without difficulty. As he possessed nothing, he promised every thing. Mustapha was to cede to the Greeks the countries bordering on the Pont Euxine as far as the frontiers of Walachia, and all the towns of Thes-
saly, as far as mount Athos. Without doubt he would have promised the empire entire, had it been demanded of him. Immediately after this treaty, which was confirmed by oath, ten galleys, commanded by Demetrius, conveyed to the port of Gallipoli the pretended Mustapha, Sineis, and all those who would embrace their party.

The pre-
tended
Mustapha
takes pos-
session of
Gallipoli.
The grand
vizier Ba-
jazet
marches a-
gainst him.

The noble air of this adventurer, who perfectly resembled the prince whose name he usurped, his affability and persuasive eloquence, soon opened to him the gates of the city, which at first had threatened resistance. Sineis took possession

possession of the citadel sword in hand, whilst <sup>J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.</sup> Mustapha went to get himself acknowledged in the Hexamilium.† In effect, whether the people were afraid of being governed by a master too young, or that they thought they saw their lawful prince in this man, whose outward appearance seduced them, Mustapha entered several places, more like a favorite monarch than a conqueror. The arrival of these news at Bursa, raised the whole council of the young emperor against the grand vizier Bajazet. They reproached this minister with a misfortune which he ought to have foreseen, for no one doubted but it was the haughty reply made the Greeks, which had determined them to set up an emperor. The council was unanimous for charging Bajazet with the event of a war which he alone had incited. The time was precious, as it was necessary to march troops from Asia. Bajazet passed the straits with less than thirty thousand men; some soldiers joined him in Europe. The usurper seemed to be a prince confirmed on his throne, which some factious people were vainly attempting to pull down.

Though

† This was what they called the peninsula on which Gallipoli is situated, because the isthmus, which joins it to the continent, is but six miles broad; this was what gave the name of Hexamilium to Lyſmachia, built on this isthmus. The isthmus of Corinth had a wall and a town which bore the same name.

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

Bajazet's
army de-
serts by de-
grees to the
enemy.
The grand
vizier him-
self goes &
surrenders
to the u-
surper:
Sineis has
him put to
death.

Though Bajazet's forces were very inferior, he marched courageously against the enemy. Mustapha advanced slowly, at the head of sixty thousand men: Sineis commanded the troops. Mustapha was employed only in increasing his party, in flattering all those whom he had interest to gain, and in persuading by caresses those men accustomed to tremble before their masters, and to kiss the dust of their feet. And indeed Mustapha intentionally permitted the enemy's army to approach him. He and Bajazet met near Gallipoli; the usurper's camp was well fortified; almost convinced that his enemy would not attack him, he undertook to vanquish him without striking a blow. He advanced every day, with a feeble escort, as far as the advanced guards, or towards the dispersed knots of men, and conversed familiarly with the commanders or soldiers. He made all those recollect him that had formerly seen Mustapha; he called God to witness the justice of his cause, and swore by the prophet to govern equitably the empire which he was obliged to conquer. His conversations had almost always the success which he expected: the soldiers either followed him, or returned to their camp only to bring him a greater number of deserters; in short, in a few days, Bajazet's army was so reduced by desertions to Mustapha's, that the vizier could no longer flatter himself with making the least resistance. He
went

went the last to implore the clemency of him, who had vanquished him without a battle. The pretended prince would have spared him, agreeably to his political principles; but his general, Sineis, whom it was dangerous for him to offend, was the declared enemy of Bajazet. This vizier had formerly fought the alliance of Sineis; he had asked his daughter in marriage for his son. Sineis, who hated Bajazet, had preferred giving his daughter to a slave newly enfranchised, whom he made sangiac of Nimphea. In the first disgrace of Sineis, Bajazet had taken possession of that town, imprisoned the governor, who had been preferred to his son, and ordered him to be made an eunuch. The remembrance of this cruelty had left deep traces in the heart of Sineis. He no sooner saw this vizier prisoner, than he had him wrested from Mustapha's tent, notwithstanding the protection of that prince, which the unfortunate vizier loudly reclaimed, and had him beheaded in his presence.

After this event, Mustapha flattered himself, that he should peaceably possess all that the Ottomans had conquered in Europe. He had dispersed an army of Amurath's without difficulty; and was received at Adrianople with the acclamations of all the people. This child of fortune was beginning to resign himself on the bosom of his prosperity, when the Greeks demanded of him Gallipoli and the other places which they

The pretended Mustapha refuses Manuel the price of his succours. This prince, irritated at having been deceived, joins Amurath.

M had

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

had been promised. Mustapha considered him-
sufficiently certain of his prosperity, to dare
openly appear perjured and ungrateful. He
refused to give up what he termed the patrimony
of his ancestors, declaring to Demetrius, who
demanded of him, in the name of Manuel, the
execution of the treaty of Constantinople, that
he neither could nor would mangle the Ot-
toman empire. Demetrius, having been his
first deliverer, made no scruple of reproaching
him with his perfidy. But Mustapha was not
susceptible of shame; he complained in his turn
of Manuel's cruelty, who had retained him
captive in the isle of Lesbos, the latter part of
the reign of Mahomet. After a speech, full of
pride and bitterness, he ordered Demetrius to
go and tell the Greek emperor from him,
that he would be his ally, only on condition of
Manuel's renouncing his unjust pretensions.
The Greek emperor was confounded with so
much audacity; he saw with grief his perfidies
repaid, and that he should not receive from
them the fruit which he had expected. Not
being sufficiently strong to punish, he resolved
to offer his feeble succours to the sultan A-
murath, whom he had betrayed; but on whom
he founded all his hopes of revenge. The Ot-
toman prince was not cast down at having op-
posed an insufficient force to the enterprize of
Mustapha; he favorably received the ambassadors
of

of the emperor Manuel, and sent him others in return, in order to dissemble the resentment that he felt at the setting up of a pretended Mustapha; but he would never promise, either to trust his two brothers to the Greeks, or to give up Gallipoli, as Manuel demanded. This would have been paying too dear for the alliance of that prince, for the ancient masters of the world had hardly any thing but good wishes to offer their allies.

The young Amurath had seen how the address alone of Mustapha had made him reign at Adrianople: he was willing in his turn to get the good opinion of the people: he published that the sins of the Mahometans had drawn on them the wrath of God. When he learned the total destruction of his army, he exclaimed in open divan: *What can a created being do, when the Creator is against him.* This maxim is retained by the Turks; they repeat it often in Amurath's own words. This prince went publicly some leagues from Bursa, to visit a dervis, who possessed great reputation for sanctity throughout Asia. He gave the solitary man a great many proofs of piety and veneration; he intreated him to go to prayer, in order to learn from God, and from his prophet, if he should undertake the war, and what success the monarch might hope from it. The pretended saint, after a long meditation, assumed the voice of inspiration, and

J.C. 1421,
Heg. 824.

Sineis betrays the pretended Mustapha for the government of Smyrna. Mustapha's army abandons him; he repasses the straits almost alone.

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

promised the sultan several times, from Mahomet, the most complete victory, and the constant prosperity of the house of Ottoman. This oracle, designedly spread throughout the empire, weakened the sort of charm employed by the pretended Mustapha. He contributed himself, still more than the dervisian prophet, to ruin his party. Since he thought himself settled on his throne, luxury and debauchery had rendered him incapable of business, and he even neglected to please those from whom he thought he had nothing more to expect. The repeated reproaches of Sineis at length drew Mustapha from the sloth in which he had languished for a year past. His troops passed the straits, and the two armies met. Amurath, who knew Sineis to be an able general and a traitor, chose rather to corrupt than to fight him. He proposed to him, by an officer of his army, brother to Sineis, who went to meet him in the night, to restore him Ephesus and Smyrna, of which he had been bashaw, on the sole condition of the oaths, and an annual tribute. Sineis found Mustapha, neither sufficiently vigilant, nor warlike, to flatter himself with his being able to retain his conquests. He began to repent of having attached his fortune to that of an usurper, who was incapable of sustaining his dangerous part, and who was but an impostor, even in the eyes of his partisans. Sineis gave his word,

word, on which much dependance could not be put, and the next night set out for Smyrna. J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

The news of this desertion were a signal for all Mustapha's foldiers, who disperfed, as soon as they faw themselves without a chief. Amurath, who had expected it, had caufed bridges to be conſtructed at equal diſtances, and avenues to be prepared, in order that the deferters might come to his camp with greater facility, and where they actually arrived in great number. The abandoned Muſtapha fled to Lampſaco, followed only by four ſervants; it was with difficulty that he found a bark to carry him to Europe. The army of his enemy was cloſe after him: the uſurper was hard preſſed to aſſemble at Gallipoli his few remaining foldiers, and particularly to flee from Amurath. He paſſed the ſtraits without an eſcort. Amurath likewise wanted veſſels to carry over his army; but the Latin Chriſtians ſerved the ſultan, better than his allies or his own ſubjects could have done. The circumſtance was favorable: the Genoefe poſſeſſed at that time in Phocis, on the borders of the ſea, a mountain, from which they drew alum, and which was, for them, a conſiderable object of commerce. They had conſtructed, at the foot of this mountain, a town and port called Phocæa, and were continually ſending veſſels thither. This eſtabliſhment had formerly paid a tribute to the Greek emperor; but, in the ſequel, the

Amurath,
by the aſ-
ſiſtance of
ſome Ge-
noefe veſ-
ſels, pur-
ſues his
army.

Ottomans

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

Ottomans had possessed themselves of this tribute, as of almost all Asia. There were several years of this tribute due, as they had been obliged, through circumstances, to neglect the payment of it. Immediately on this revolution, Adorna, who was at that time podestate of Phoea, offered the sultan to furnish him with as many vessels as he should want to transport his troops across the straits, on condition that the sums due from the republic of Genoa should be remitted. The proposal was accepted, and as soon as it was known that the false Mustapha was passed into Europe, Amurath wrote from Lampfaco to the podestate Adorna, to summon him to his word. The Genoese sent his vessels immediately, and Amurath's army embarked the third day after their arrival at Lampfaco. As soon as Mustapha saw the sea covered with Genoese vessels, he detached a bark to offer the podestate a considerable sum, if he would, under some pretext, retard the disembarking of the Turks. Adorna steadily refused to listen to this perfidy. The troops remaining at Gallipoli, and those which Mustapha had been able to assemble, courageously opposed the descent of Amurath; but, overcome by number, the usurper's only resource was flight. Amurath remained three days at Gallipoli, in order to receive the soldiers who flocked in crowds to his standard.

As

As soon as fortune had declared for the legitimate prince, he no longer met with resistance.

J.C. 1421.
Heg. 824.

The fugitive Mustapha had entered Adrianople to collect all that he could carry away of his treasures; he was no longer there when Amurath took possession of the place; but these same treasures, which were his last resource, served to discover his footsteps. He shewed as little judgment in secreting himself, as he had courage in the field; some spies, who knew him by the magnificence with which he rewarded hospitality, followed him. They surprised him in Walachia, where he was endeavouring to raise some troops, and to stir up his remaining partisans. Amurath had offered a sum, to any one that should bring him Mustapha alive. The wretched being was conducted to Adrianople, loaded with chains, where the people, who had believed him their master, no longer regarded him but as an impostor. The emperor exposed him to the insults of the soldiery, and the indignation of the populace, after which he was hanged on a gibbet in the grand square at Adrianople.

The impostor's army being dispersed, he is taken and conducted to Adrianople, where the sultan has him put to death.

Amurath had remained at peace with Manuel all the time that he was engaged in the reduction of the pretended Mustapha; but he never forgot, that it was the Greek emperor who had raised him up this rival. The sultan retained at his court the ambassadors that Manuel had sent to felicitate him on the death of the usurper.

J.C. 1422.
Heg. 825.

Amurath puts himself at the head of an army against Manuel.

He

J.C. 1422, He was unwilling to have these Greeks render
to 1424.
Heg. 825, too early an account to their master of the pre-
to 827.

parations which he was making against him; but, as soon as they were finished, the sultan ordered them to go and tell Manuel, that he should see him himself soon after them. Amurath kept his word: in the beginning of the spring, he marched with a hundred and fifty thousand men to ravage Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace. Ducas asserts even that the intention of the sultan was to besiege Constantinople.

Manuel
raises up
a new rival
against
Amurath.
Death of
the Greek
emperor.

Manuel, who had nothing near so many troops to oppose him with, had recourse to his ordinary arms, fraud and artifice. He incited by letter one Helias, governor of the sultan's brothers, to place on the throne the eldest of these princes, who was as yet but a child, and to reign in his name. Perilous and destitute of every pretext as was this proceeding, Helias found accomplices with the Greek money. He conducted to Nice the young Mustapha (for that was likewise the name of this prince). The second Mustapha was incontestably of the Ottoman race; but his right to the throne notwithstanding was equally illegal. Be that as it may, the news of an insurrection at Nice, put a stop to Amurath's desolating the provinces of his enemy. This was all that Manuel had aimed at. In this interval, the Greek prince died at Constantinople in the
seventy-

J.C. 1424.
Heg. 827.

seventy-seventh year of his age, leaving to John Paleologus, to whom he had already given a share in the crown, the broken remains of the Greek empire, and his hatred of the Mussulmen.

J.C. 1424.
to 1429.
Heg. 827,
to 832.

Amurath only shewed himself in Asia. No regular troops had taken part with the rebels, but solely a few freebooters, drawn by the love of pillage, had assembled about Nice. The sultan's approach soon dispersed them. The emperor's name alone was sufficient to procure the opening of the gates of a town, which had so recently acknowledged an usurper. The principal conspirators were so troubled, at the small resistance of their accomplices, that they had not time to look to their own safety. Helias, all the guards, and all the followers of Mustapha, were unmercifully put to death. The pretended emperor and his brother, though yet too young to be really culpable, (for the eldest was but nine years old,) were strangled in Amurath's presence, who sent their bodies to Bursa, to be interred in the royal sepulchre. These executions of the younger Ottoman princes, became afterward very frequent.

Amurath
has his two
brothers
strangled.

Amurath had yet one traitor to punish. This same Sineis, ever a perjurer or rebel, who, after having raised from the dirt the pretended Mustapha, had since betrayed him for the government of Smyrna and Ephesus, from which he had been first turned out, began to be desirous

Amurat
reduces
three pro-
vinces.

N

of

J.C. 1424,
to 1429.
Heg. 827,
to 832.

of shaking off the conditions on which he had made his peace; he refused, or at least neglected, to send to Adrianople the imposts of his province. The sultan eagerly seized the opportunity of chastising this scoundrel, and of re-entering a fine province; he sent against him Kalil, the brother-in-law and friend of the vizier Bajazet, whom Sineis had caused to be cruelly massacred in the tent of the pretended Mustapha. Kalil, inspired by his hatred, marched at the head of fifty thousand men. The rebel was defeated, and obliged to flee with a few followers. It was in vain that he sought allies among the tributary sovereigns, whom he supposed animated like himself with a desire of shaking off the yoke. Several would have been happy to execute it; but not one durst put confidence in Sineis. He, who had several times made his master tremble at the head of an army, was taken like a malefactor, after having wandered a long time, and punished as he merited. Amurath re-united two provinces besides this to his empire, without much bloodshed: that of Sipha or Sinope, (a part of Natolia,) and Ipsala in Europe. The sovereign of the first had excused himself from paying the tribute; Ierman, who possessed the latter in Romania, chose rather to declare himself at once a real subject, than appear to enjoy some sovereign rights, dependant on the caprice of a prince always ready to crush him. The emperor
loaded

loaded Ierman with presents, and made him J.C. 1424.
 fangiac of Ipsala. The new governor considered to 1429,
 his fortune and life secure whilst he served a Heg. 827,
 master of whom it was too dangerous to be to 832.
 either the neighbour or the enemy.

Amurath did not forget his hatred against the TheGreek
 Greeks. As soon as he had arranged his Asiatic emperor
 affairs, he repassed the straits, and turned his concludes a
 arms against the Morea and all the maritime peace with
 places towards the mouth of the Strymon the sultan;
 in Macedonia. He took Dercos, Settunion, but Thes-
 and Mesembria, always taking care to ravage salonica,
 and impoverish the country. John Paleologus which he
 earnestly sought peace: in order to obtain it, he had ceded
 consented to abandon all the towns that the as one of
 Turkish emperor had taken, even Theffalonica, the condi-
 which had not yet surrendered, to erase the tions of the
 wall of six miles long, built along the isthmus treaty, so-
 of Corinth in order to shelter the Morea from licits the
 the incursions of the Turks; (it was called protection
 Hexamilium, as well as the town at its foot;) of the Ve-
 and to pay besides an annual tribute of three netians.
 hundred thousand aspers. These conditions were
 sufficiently advantageous to content Amurath;
 but when the sultan thought the peace settled,
 John Paleologus pretended, that he had no right
 to give up Theffalonica, as he had agreed to.
 During the negociation between the two em-
 perors, the Theffalonians, through fear of be-
 coming slaves, had made an attempt upon the

J.C. 1424, liberty of Andronicus, the Greek emperor's
 to 1429.
 Heg. 827, brother, who commanded in the place, and had
 to 832.
 since sent deputies to Venice, to offer to become
 subjects of that republic, if they would undertake its defence. Calcondilus and Phranzes assure us, that the violence offered to Andronicus was a feint, and that the Theſſalonians had recourse to the republic of Venice, only in concert with the Greeks. Be that as it may, as the Venetians wished ardently for a town so advantageously situated for commerce, they accepted the proposal without hesitation. They immediately sent a governor thither, who gave Andronicus the liberty of retiring to Constantinople; and for fear lest the natives, who had not thought themselves sufficiently strong to defend their homes, should talk of submitting to the Turks, they transported a great many families, some to the islands of Euboe and Candia, and others to Venice, under pretence, that there were not provisions enough in the place, and that it would be difficult to introduce any. In the place of these useless stomachs, they substituted disciplined and determined soldiers. Amurath was at Seres in Macedonia, when he learned, that the Venetians had undertaken the defence of a place, which the Greeks had ceded to him. Surprised to find himself opposed by an enemy which he had not thought of, he sent an embassy to Venice, to represent to the republic,

The Venetians undertake its defence.

Amurath is obliged to besiege it.

republic, that as he was not at war with them, J.C. 1424, to 1429. Heg. 827, to 832. they ought not to shut against him the gates of a town, which had never belonged to them. The sultan not having received any satisfactory answer from the Venetians, it became necessary for him to prepare for besieging a strong place defended by determined soldiers. The emperor wrote to Amza his vizier to bring, by the gulf of Thessalonica, all the troops that he could take from Asia, assuring him that he would soon join him.

Amza appeared the first, at the head of an army so numerous, that the besiegers were more than a hundred to one. Notwithstanding this large number, the Venetians defended themselves with incredible courage, making frequent and bloody sallies, contenting themselves with a very frugal nourishment, and threatening instant death to all those that should talk of surrendering. The fortifications of this town were such, that few war machines could affect them. Though the use of cannon was already known in almost every part of Europe, the Turks did not yet know how to employ them. They endeavoured to corrupt some of the besieged. In effect, some of them not being able to support the extremities to which they were reduced, undertook the continuation of a subterraneous passage, known only to a few people, in order to open a communication with the outside of the walls, and, by that mean, to introduce the enemy.

This

Siege of Thessalonica.

Amurath abandons all the slaves and booty to the soldiers.

J.C. 1424,
to 1429.
Heg. 827,
to 832. This being discovered, the authors of it were so
J.C. 1429.
Heg. 832. cruelly punished, that several, before they were
 convicted, precipitated themselves from the top
 of the ramparts into the Turkish camp, to avoid
 the torments which their accomplices were put
 to. These examples kept in order the feeblest.
 The war engines and battering rams made very
 little effect, and the siege began to lengthen.
 The vizier wrote to the emperor, that his pre-
 sence became necessary, not to augment the
 number of the besiegers, already too large, but
 to add new vigour to the troops, who began to
 despair. Amurath tore himself from the arms
 of his sultaneffes. As soon he arrived at the
 camp, he caused to be published by sound of
 trumpet, that he gave the soldiers every thing
 that should be found in Theffalonica, men, wo-
 men, children, gold, silver, furniture, and wares,
 and that he reserved to himself, only the place and
 buildings. This declaration renewed the ardour
J.C. 1429.
Heg. 832. of the soldiers. The assault was given with such
 vigour, that they reached at length, though in a
 small number, the top of the walls; those, who
 were able to get up, cut their way through the
 middle of some discouraged soldiers and an
 enervated populace. They found means to open
 a gate to the Turks, who rushed instantly into
 the city. There was less slaughter in Theffalo-
 nica than is generally seen in towns taken by
 assault. Amurath's abandoning all the slaves

to the soldiers, was the cause of there being but little bloodshed. The Turks killed only those that made resistance, and they put in chains all that submitted to them. The town was rich; the gold, the silver, the rich furniture, and every thing of value, was a prey to the troops, as the sultan had promised them. Each soldier sold as many slaves as he could take. The town, become a desert, was repeopled by some families from the country. Amurath introduced likewise, some of its old inhabitants, who had been ransomed. He converted all the churches into mosques, except one, which he left the Christians. The Greek emperor had the boldness to complain of the sack of Thessalonica. Amurath complained in his turn against John Paleologus's neglect of the treaty. He saw, or was willing to see, a connivance with the Latin Christians in the defence which they had made of this town, and he designed to punish the Greeks for it, by continuing the war with them, though they had paid the tribute.

J.C. 1429,
to 1436.
Heg. 832,
to 840.

He takes
some towns
in Etolia,
and con-
cludes a
peace with
the Vene-
tians.

He took several towns without resistance in Achaia and Etolia, which the Greeks yet possessed. They opened their gates to him as soon as they could perceive the horse-tails.* The Venetians, interested in the preservation of a free intercourse

* This is a mark of dignity carried before the viziers. An officer who has a right to have *three horse-tails* carried before him, is stiled a *vizier of three tails*; and when the emperor is going to declare war, he causes the *horse-tails* to be hung out. *Translator.*

J.C. 1429,
to 1436.

Heg. 832.
to 840.

tercourse with all nations by sea, were eager to send an embassy to the Turkish emperor to conclude a peace. We do not find that this prince made them purchase it; he contented himself with undermining the Greeks, and weakening by degrees, under the most frivolous pretences, the princes his tributaries and neighbours.

Amurath
goes to war
with several
despots
at the in-
stigation of
his wives.

For twelve whole years Amurath made war with his vassals in Europe and Asia. He dispossessed them in order to give their possessions to some of his creatures, or he reduced them to heavy tributes.

Some female intrigues, which are always so dark at the Ottoman court, but which are often more powerful there, than any where else, were the occasion of almost all these events. Besides a great number of concubines shut up in the haram, Amurath had three legitimate wives there, all daughters or sisters of his vassals, who had been given him by them, in order to procure his protection, or purchase peace: Helen, daughter of Lazarus Ogli, prince of Servia in Europe; Fatma, daughter of Isfendar Beg, prince of Sinope in Asia; and Mary, sister of George, become despot of Servia after the death of Lazarus Ogli. These princesses, giving themselves up to their jealousies, endeavoured to have the war carried into the dominions of their rivals. Mary, princess of Servia, the last of the sultaneesses, had at first effaced the two others from the heart of the inconstant Amurath. But her beauty and suc-
cess

cess made her so haughty, that she presently irritated her spouse, who would have none but slaves. Mary had been the seal of peace between Amurath and her brother. The princess of Sinope, who had at first been sacrificed to her, more flexible and cunning than this haughty Greek, knew how to recover the heart of a master, as despotic in his pleasures as in the administration of his empire. It was then people saw for the first time at the Porte the black eunuchs, the guardians and confidants of the women, surround the monarch, treat with the foreign ministers, and prepare war or peace. The army was sent into Servia; the despot, brother to the disgraced sultaneess, was attacked in Semendriah, his capital, under pretext of his entertaining intelligence with Hungary. This town was taken by assault. The despot fled to the court of Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary; and he hastened to put Belgrade, his most important place, under the protection of the Hungarians.

Ladislaus, king of Poland and Hungary, had intrusted the defence of Belgrade to the celebrated Hunniade, waywode of Transylvania, one of the greatest generals of his time. It was at this siege that the Turks experienced, for the first time, the effect of cannon, which much surprised and frightened them. After six months, they shamefully abandoned this place, which

J.C. 1429,
to 1436,
Heg. 832,
to 840.

After a
long war
with La-
dislaus
king of
Hungary,
he con-
cludes a
truce of
ten years.

J.C. 1436.
Heg. 840.

O

they

J.C. 1436, they had been unable to reduce. Hunniade,
 to 1444.
 Heg. 840, having passed the Danube, pursued Amurath's
 to 848.
 { army, greatly reduced both by fire and disease.

The Hungarians ravaged and burnt the whole country which had been taken by the Turkish emperor: nevertheless we don't find that there was any considerable engagement. The protection of the Hungarians procured the prince of Servia the restitution of his dominions, for Amurath justly feared Hunniade's great reputation. The Hungarian and Turkish monarchs concluded a truce of ten years. Each ratified it by oath on the mysteries of his religion. The stipulated conditions were, that, in consequence of the restitution of Servia, neither the Turks nor Hungarians should pass the Danube.

Caraman
 Oglı raises
 up a con-
 federacy
 of Euro-
 pean prin-
 ces, who
 place La-
 dislaus at
 their head

Amurath's sister, the wife of Caraman Oglı, had several times exerted her credit with the sultan, to procure this refractory vassal, more refractory than all the rest, a pardon for his frequent infringement of treaties. Though Caraman was a good Mussulman, he wrote continually to the king of Hungary, the waywode of Bulgaria, the waywode of Walachia, in short, to all the Christian princes, neighbours of the Turks, to irritate them against his brother-in-law, who had twice spared his possessions. They all offered to join the king of Hungary, provided Caraman would make a diversion on the other side of the sea. Ladislaus was a lover of glory,
 and

and could not refuse the means of acquiring it. J.C. 1436, to 1444. Heg. 840, to 848.
 The state of Venice offered him vessels; the duke of Burgundy sent him money; he was besides certain of having considerable succours from his Polish dominions; but the solemn oath which he had taken, to observe a truce of ten years with the Turks, stopped his proceeding. Pope Eugene IV. sent cardinal Julian Cæsarini, the Hungarian legate, to appease the scruples of the king, and convince him, that however sacred an oath might be, it was no way binding with Infidels, and that it was a work agreeable to God, to perjure one's self in order to exterminate those who offended him. At length, a brief of absolution from Eugene, the legate's sophisms, the love of vain glory, superstition, and false zeal, stifled, in the heart of Ladislaus, the cries of conscience and the sentiments of equity.

The Pope and the Venetians armed a fleet at their joint expence, the object of which was to prevent the Turks from passing the straits. All the vessels bore the colours of the Holy See, or of the duke of Burgundy: for the republic did not dare openly go to war with the Ottomans. The Greeks were no way engaged in this confederacy. A little before, at the council of Florence, it had been vainly endeavoured to reunite them to the catholic church. The Greek prelates, called to this council, had in fact consented to the union; but they soon returned to

Pope Eugene IV. authorises the king of Hungary to break his treaties. The confederates arm a fleet, which is unable to prevent Amurath from penetrating into Europe.

J.C. 1436, the schism with the people, who had never been
 to 1444.
 Heg. 840, converted; and by this mean there was as much
 to 848.

hatred between the Latins and Greeks, as between the Mahometans and Christians. John Paleologus pleased himself in secret with the efforts that his enemies were making for their own destruction. The confederate fleet had taken possession of the entrance of the Bosphorus, called the sacred entrance; they flattered themselves with blocking up the Mussulmen; but Amurath, perfectly informed of all the motions of his enemies, had embarked at a more distant place, and taken another way. He found means to land a hundred thousand men in Europe, without being opposed by a Christian vessel. Amurath entered with his fleet the port of Gallipoli, and marched to Adrianople, where Ali bashaw, beglerbeg of Europe, came to join him with another body of troops equally considerable and disciplined: and in spite of the tumultuous efforts of a numerous confederacy, this junction was formed without any obstacle.

Battle of
 Varna.

J.C. 1444.
 Heg. 848.

The confederate army was already near Varna, on the borders of the Pont Euxine, where they were soon joined by the Turks; the king of Hungary had vainly flattered himself that the combined fleet would hinder the passage of the Ottomans. He had for lieutenants, the celebrated Hunniade, Julian Cæsarini the pope's legate, the bishops of Strigonia and Waradin,
 and

and some Hungarian and Polish lords. The J.C. 1444,
 army of the crusade appeared only a confused to 1448.
 heap of men of all nations, without experience Heg. 848,
 or discipline. Their cavalry alone had some consistency to 851.
 ; it was composed of gentlemen and warriors by profession, who opposed, to the enemies' weapons, arms offensive and defensive, well trained horses, courage, and the love of glory. The infantry were for the most part idlers armed through drunkenness or debauchery, enthusiasm or misery, and who rather fancied themselves going to a pillage than a war.

Such soldiers were not formidable to these brave janissaries, who knew equally to obey and to fight, and whom the hope of a rich booty, or a merited fortune, or the paradise of Mahomet, invariably animated. Notwithstanding this difference, the advantage of ground and the talents of Hunniade would have perhaps carried, or at least balanced, the victory, if he had been permitted to dispose the order of battle to his mind. But every general who commands under a king has the flatterers and envious to fight against, who undoubtedly are much more dangerous than open enemies. Hunniade had chosen his field of battle before the arrival of the Turks; the Christian army had in its rear a chain of steep hills, and its right was defended by a large river. The general had fastened a number of waggons together, in order to guard the left,
 and

J.C. 1444, and to prevent the enemy from turning or taking
 to 1448.
 Heg. 848, it in flank. He had placed the king in safety,
 to 851.
 { behind a large body of cavalry, advising him to
 take the command of the reserve, in which he
 had mixed a great part of the infantry that he
 least esteemed. The command of the left wing
 was given to a Polish nobleman, whose name has
 not been preserved by history. Hunniade was
 determined to begin the attack himself at the
 head of the right wing, and to continue it by
 the left. The legate and the bishops he had left
 with the king in the reserve.

Ladislaus
 is killed, &
 the confe-
 derate army
 is defeated.

The Turks advanced in good order, carrying
 at the end of a lance the treaty broken by the
 Christians, upbraiding them with their perjury,
 and loudly promising to themselves victory or
 martyrdom. The Turkish army was almost a
 third more numerous than that of the Christians;
 but Hunniade's dispositions had deprived the
 enemy of every mean of surrounding them, or
 even of presenting a more extended front, which
 could facilitate their attacking them in flank.
 Amurath had placed almost all his infantry in the
 first line. Garasse, beglerbeg of Asia, com-
 manded the right wing; Ali bashaw, beglerbeg
 of Europe, the left, and the emperor himself was
 in the centre. After fervent prayers on both
 sides, and short harangues from the chiefs, Hun-
 niade charged the left wing of the Turks with
 as much order as vigour. The squadrons en-
 gaged

gaged several times without effect, shewing equal force and address: at length Hunniade found means to open the enemy's front ranks; the ardour of the horse, and the weight of their arms, presently routed them. The slaughter was terrible at the right, and the Hungarians might have flattered themselves with the victory, if Hunniade had been always obeyed. But the bishops, who surrounded Ladislaus, jealous of the waywode's victory, and more sanguinary than martial, pressed the Hungarian monarch to charge at the head of his corps. He accordingly ordered the squadrons that guarded his person to open, and, marching with his infantry against the janissaries, he forced the latter to take vengeance, and to fall with fury on these bands which came against them. The victory was no longer in suspense; the whole confederate infantry was presently routed. The king of Hungary himself, surrounded on every side, was unable to withstand his numerous assailants; after having defended himself a long time, he was willing to surrender prisoner; but the janissaries, exasperated at the breaking of the truce, gave no quarter. All those who threw down their arms were massacred without mercy. The king of Hungary fell, pierced with wounds, in the middle of the janissaries. They cut off his head, and carried it against Hunniade, who had abandoned his attack to march to the king's assistance.

This

J.C. 1444,
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

J.C. 1444, This spectacle terrified all the Christians, and
 to 1448.
 Heg. 848, completed their defeat. Hunniade vainly en-
 to 851.
 deavoured to recover his master's corpse, and the
 shameful trophy displayed by the Mahometans
 with so much ostentation. The name of perjurer,
 which they continually repeated as they fought,
 or rather as they massacred the vanquished, roused
 in vain the courage of the Poles and Hungarians,
 who only offered themselves in greater number
 to the enemy's sword. The slaughter lasted 'till
 night. The two beglerbegs, each on his quar-
 ter, pursued the fugitives, numbers of whom
 were drowned in the Danube. The two bishops
 perished in the battle; the Christian army was
 entirely dispersed, and Amurath, the next day,
 had a pyramid, covered with pompous inscrip-
 tions, raised on the field of battle, by the side of
 a trophy composed of the arms of the vanquished.

Amurath
 abdicates
 the throne
 in favor of
 his son
 Mahomet.

The sultan made no use of this victory. He
 had just lost two sons by a contagious disorder.
 Either through grief at this loss, or dislike of
 government, he determined, after the battle of
 Varna, to resign the empire to his son Mahomet,
 who was only fifteen years old, leaving his two
 servants Garaffe and Ali bashaw near the throne,
 to support their new master. We cannot divine
 the motives, that could induce Amurath to quit
 an empire, which he had extended and fortified,
 to leave it to a child. The Turkish historians
 pretend even that he abdicated the throne twice;
 the

the first time before, and the second after the battle of Varna. But this improbable account is denied by the Greek historians, more authentic than the Turks, who do not always preserve the exactest memoirs. Be that as it may, Amurath, contented with his trophies, and with having punished perjurers, had the young Mahomet proclaimed emperor of the Turks in the city of Adrianople, and retired to Magnesia to give himself up to the repose and pleasures of sensuality, which neither the cares of war, nor of the throne, had ever made him forget.

Mahomet fixed his residence at Adrianople. The janissaries, accustomed to fear Amurath, soon took advantage of the youth and inexperience of his son. These fierce soldiers required a severe discipline, which could not be expected under the government of a child. Several riots at Adrianople cost the inhabitants, and even the janissaries, much blood. The managers of the public treasury took advantage likewise of their situation to apply the money to their own use, and to oppress the subjects. In less than four months the face of the empire was entirely changed. In the midst of peace abroad, which had been so seldom seen, there never was so much confusion. 'Till then the emperors had executed every thing themselves; the viziers had not yet gotten that authority which they have since acquired under a long succession of effe-

J.C. 1444,
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

Amurath
re-ascends
the throne
soon after
his abdica-
tion.

J.C. 1444,
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

minate princes. The soldiers and all the ministers were accustomed to receive their orders from the sovereign himself. Kalil, Garaffe, and Ali, who were charged with assisting the young emperor, saw that the empire would soon run to ruin, if it were not sustained by more powerful hands. They roused Amurath, who was giving himself up to his pleasures, and conjured him to come to the assistance of his empire and family. They did not dare propose to the young sultan a voluntary abdication; for, notwithstanding his inability, Mahomet was already grown fond of authority. Amurath set out privately from Magnesia, and Kalil invited the young sultan to a hunting party, which was to last several days. During this interval, Amurath arrived at Adrianople, and shewed himself to the people, who received him with transport. He went to the divan, and had all the malecontents punished. All the odas of janissaries immediately returned to their duty. After seven days absence, Mahomet, on his return from the hunting party, found his father settled on his throne; he was ordered to go to Magnesia, to wait 'till age should have taught him to command. The young prince obeyed without a murmur, and Amurath presently rectified all the faults committed by his son.

Amurath
reduces the
despot of
the Morea.

During the war with Hungary, there had happened what was always the consequence when any power rose up against the Turks. All the

the little neighbouring princes had taken advantage of the circumstance to endeavour to aggrandize themselves, whilst the Ottoman arms were engaged elsewhere. Constantine, despot of the Morea, had entered the Turkish dominions and taken several places. Amurath, after having quieted the troubles at home, sent a hundred and twenty thousand men towards the Hexamilium, threatening to reduce it to ashes. It extended from one end to the other of the isthmus of Corinth. The father of the historian Calcondilus was sent as ambassador to ask peace of the Turks; but his proposals were insufficient to satisfy Amurath. This prince sent him back to his master, bound hand and foot, and attacked with cannon the wall which defended the isthmus. This was the first time that the Turks employed these destructive arms. The Greeks were soon defenceless, and surrendered every thing that they had usurped.

J.C. 1444,
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

Thus far almost every thing had been prosperous to the emperor Amurath; but in his latter years he had to fight against an enemy more formidable than any he had yet met with, and who had been brought up in his bosom. This was the famous Scanderbeg, so adored by the Christians, and of whom the historians report prodigies. This warrior, called George Castriot, was the son of John Castriot, prince of Epirus, who, like all the Greek despots, had submitted to

The history of Scanderbeg.

J.C. 1444, the conqueror. John Castriot had not only paid
to 1448.
Heg. 848, a tribute to Amurath, but his four sons had also
to 851.
been conducted as hostages to the court of that prince. Three died in infancy. The youngest, called George, pleased the emperor by his fine figure, and by features which announced an elevated soul. Amurath, either through inclination or policy, had young Castriot circumcised, and educated in the Mahometan religion; but he always remained a Christian in the bottom of his heart. Amurath carried him to the war when he was very young. The courageous actions and bodily strength of young Castriot, got him the name of Alexander, which in the Turkish language is *Scander*, to which they added the syllable *beg*, which signifies prince. It was under this name of *Scanderbeg*, which George Castriot received from the Ottomans, that he signalized against them those martial talents, which he had received and cultivated in their school and army. When John Castriot, prince of Epirus, died, Amurath never once thought of rendering to his ward, the dominions of which nature and the death of his brothers had made him sovereign. He established a bashaw there, and constantly employed young Scanderbeg in war. This injustice sensibly offended that warrior. An outrage which Scanderbeg's youth and beauty drew on him from Amurath, abandoned to every species of debauchery, completed his abhorrence of the

the man, who pretended to be his benefactor, but was only his tyrant.

Scanderbeg bore this in his heart when he went to the first Hungarian war, in which the Turks were obliged to raise the siege of Belgrade, and to retreat before Hunniade, who pursued them. The bad success of that war had induced the Emperor to leave the command of his army to a bashaw, who had the misfortune to be made prisoner. Scanderbeg took advantage of this circumstance; he invited to his tent the reis effendi, a sort of secretary of state who guards the small seal of the empire, and, with his cimeter at his throat, forced him to sign and seal a letter to the bashaw of Epirus, commanding him to remit Croia the capital of that province, and all the countries its dependencies, to the said Scanderbeg, who was to govern them in the name of Amurath, instead of the bashaw deposed by this pretended order. As soon as the seal was affixed to it, Scanderbeg killed the reis effendi with his own hand, and interred him on the spot, in order to destroy every trace of the action. This done, he made his escape to Croia, and, by virtue of his false order, which no one suspected, took possession of the place. He had no difficulty to detach the Albanians from their obedience to the Turks. He endeavoured to supply his province with provisions, fortify the towns, raise national troops, and win the gar-
risons

J.C. 1444.
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

Amurath
penetrates
into Alba-
nia, and
Scanderbeg
waits for
him in an
advanta-
geous post.

J.C. 1444, risons which had formerly served Amurath. In
 to 1448.
 Heg. 848. fine, he employed all his ability to maintain
 to 851.
 himself in this sovereignty, which had been unjustly wrested from his family, and which he had so recently recovered by a perfidy. The Venetians, secret enemies of the Ottomans, without daring openly to oppose them, assisted Scanderbeg with a considerable sum of money. This fugitive was already a redoubtable enemy, when the sultan undertook to reduce him. He began by besieging Fetigrade, Scanderbeg's frontier town; he took it by assault, and unmercifully massacred all the men capable of carrying arms, because every one had contributed to the defence of the place. This example, far from intimidating the Albanians, irritated them still more against the Turkish yoke. The prince of Epirus, with ten thousand men, undertook to make head against sixty thousand horse and forty thousand janissaries. Croia, his capital, was provisioned and fortified to sustain a long siege. Far from defending the narrow passes which led to it, Scanderbeg would not attempt it, 'till the enemy had penetrated as far as a kind of basin formed by a chain of mountains circularly disposed, in which he flattered himself with finding great advantages, as his troops, encamped on these steep rocks, could batter all those, who should pass below, with the artillery which he had gotten half way up; and the Albanians, and
 all

all the moutaineer soldiers, were used to climb these heights, to attack the enemy, and to escape their pursuit.

J.C. 1444,
to 1448.
Heg. 848,
to 851.

The Christian prince could hope for success, only from surprizes, and the superiority which he knew he possessed over the generals of Amurath. He permitted them to lay siege to Croia, which nature and art had made one of the strongest places in the West. He had garrisoned it with six thousand men under the command of the count of Uruena his lieutenant general. As to himself he remained in the mountains at the head of his troops, which became every day more numerous, as the Venetians had disbanded nearly all the forces in the service of their republic, and furnished Scanderbeg with the money necessary to engage them. The Turks tempted in vain the fidelity of the count of Uruena; immense offers were insufficient to make him desert his prince. He cannonaded the besiegers' camp with a numerous and well served artillery. Whenever he made a sally, Scanderbeg attacked the same quarter on the opposite side. All the historians agree in reporting prodigies of this siege; never did the union of valour and ability better supply the want of number. The indefatigable Scanderbeg shewed himself day and night to the besiegers, and forced them to intrench themselves. He picked from his army soldiers like himself, for the night expeditions; he

Siege of
Croia.
J.C. 1448.
Heg. 851.

J.C. 1448,
to 1451.

Heg. 851,
to 855.

he made them put shirts over their arms, in order that they might know one another in the dark, and he penetrated with them into the enemy's quarters, after a terrible slaughter of soldiers, for the most part buried in profound sleep. He cut his way through the bands of janissaries that the tumult had awaked, and who opposed in vain their battalions, always too open in their ranks, to the efforts of these formidable warriors, whose strokes carried with them certain death. Scanderbeg kept up a constant intelligence with the besieged, by means of fires lighted on the hills, or letters carried to the count of Uruena by spies who found means to cross the Turkish camp. The besieged made frequent sallies, and, by means of their well regulated intelligence, were always certain of the outside of the Turkish intrenchments being attacked at the same time, and on the opposite side. Scanderbeg's soldiers and the count of Uruena's often joined in the midst of the enemy. Then the besieged used to bring back reinforcements with them. Not a day passed but Scanderbeg intercepted convoys, and made every where a terrible slaughter, as much to diminish the number of his enemies, as because he had not sufficient troops to guard prisoners. In fine, the whole summer was consumed in fruitless efforts by the Turks, whom the fire and sword of the Greeks, and the necessity of continually watching, in order to prevent surprises,

surprises, lessened by degrees. Amurath, experienced in war and accustomed to success, fumed to see a young soldier, whom he had trained under his eyes, resist him with such a trifling force.

J.C. 1448,
to 1451.
Heg. 851,
to 855.

In the middle of the autumn, the rain began to moisten the earth, the works became more and more difficult, and the besieged found themselves stronger than at the commencement. Amurath resolved to give over an enterprise, which had already cost him so dear; he raised the siege of Croia; but, to return to Adrianople, he was obliged to pass the defilés of the mountains, where Scanderbeg was waiting for him. Amurath lost a great number of men again in this passage: a few troops stopped the broken remains of this shattered and discouraged army a great while there. At length, after much bloodshed, the troops returned to their quarters, with the disgrace of having been constantly beaten by a young general, who had not the eighth part of their forces.

Amurath
raises the
siege.

The following winter, a glorious event consoled the sultan for this disaster. The homage which the Greek emperor fancied himself obliged to pay the Ottoman sceptre, was an important victory over this ancient rival in greatness. John Paleologus was dead without children: his brother Constantine Dracozes would not venture to ascend the throne of Constantinople, without the

Homage
paid the
Turkish
emperor by
the emperor
of the
Greeks.

Q

permission

J.C. 1448, permission of Amurath. He sent ambassadors to
 to 1451.
 Heg. 851, him to ask his consent, before he presumed to call
 to 855.
 himself sovereign. This shameful proceeding
 seemed to presage the approaching destruction of
 the empire. Ducas, the historian, counts John
 Paleologus for the last Greek emperor, without
 doubt because he did not consider as such, a
 prince who had not dared to reign without the
 permission of his enemy.

Battle of
 Cassovia
 against the
 Hungari-
 ans, who are
 defeated.

J.C. 1451.
 Heg. 855.

Amurath's last attempt was directed against the
 Hungarians. The brave Hunniade had been
 declared regent of the kingdom since the death
 of Ladislaus the last monarch, whilst his son, yet
 a child, was at the court of the emperor Fre-
 derick. Hunniade, encouraged by the example
 of Scanderbeg, resolved to avenge the misfor-
 tunes of Hungary. In the beginning of the
 spring, he entered the Turkish dominions. The
 sultan assembled his forces, and came up with
 the Hungarians, near Cassovia, in the very place
 where Amurath I. was killed, after having gained
 the victory. Hunniade's army was composed of
 forty thousand infantry, seven thousand cavalry,
 and two hundred armed chariots. These armed
 machines were very formidable before the use
 of powder; they penetrated and separated the
 battalions, by forcing the soldiers to divide,
 or receive the edge of the scithes with which the
 wheels and flanks of the chariots were armed.
 But the fire of cannon, or even of small arms,
 soon

soon rendered them useless. The horses were killed before they were able to reach the enemy, and the chariots became often a rampart for the troops whom they had been sent against. The Hungarians and Turks fought at Cassovia three successive days by piece-meal, with equal courage. The latter, being most numerous, had at last the advantage; but Hunniade sold it to them very dear. He retired, leaving behind him two-thirds of his troops; the Ottomans lost more than twenty thousand men.

This bloody victory was not followed by any incursion, or the taking of any town. Amurath's health, which grew worse every day, obliged him to return to Adrianople, where he married Mahomet his son to the daughter of Solyman Beg, despot of Albistan. This young prince, to whom he had once already resigned the sceptre, was intended to succeed him soon: the nuptials were scarcely finished, when the sultan's infirmities degenerated into a severe illness, which carried him off in three days, after a reign of thirty years, and a glorious life of forty-nine years. Amurath possessed great qualities, obscured by an inordinate love of pleasure. Though born for war and to command, his inclinations had so effeminated him, that he once abdicated the throne. Nevertheless, circumstances again roused him, and the love of glory preponderated in his heart. He strengthened and extended the Turk-

J.C. 1451.
Heg. 855.

Death of
Amurath.

J.C. 1451.
Heg. 855.

ish empire; he humbled the Greeks more than either of his predecessors; he shewed ability and courage; and he opened to his son a career of conquest, in which that young prince even exceeded him.

MAHOMET II.

SURNAMED THE GREAT.

SEVENTH REIGN.

Mahomet's
reign com-
mences by
cruelties.

MAHOMET learned the death of his father, Amurath II. at Manissa in Lydia, where he had been sent as governor. The young prince was but just arrived, when the viziers dispatched a messenger for him to come and take possession of the throne. Mahomet repaired to Adrianople, where he was received with the acclamations of the people, who loved Amurath, and who joined to the funeral honors paid his memory, the testimony of the most heart-felt joy at the sight of his son, of whom they had conceived great hopes. But the first use that this prince made of his authority, was an act of barbarity. Amurath's ashes were scarcely laid in the tomb of his ancestors at Bursa, when Mahomet ordered the aga of the janissaries, called Ali, to have his brother, an infant at the breast, whom
Amurath

Amurath had had by the daughter of the despot of Sinope, put to death ; without doubt because he was afraid lest that prince, the issue of a lawful marriage, should one day dispute the throne with him, who was only the son of a slave. The princess of Sinope was ordered to marry Isaac, one of the officers of the last sultan ; and, as if Mahomet had determined to disclaim all these violences, he, almost immediately after, ordered this same aga of the janissaries, who had been his instrument, to be strangled.

He treated more favorably another of his father's wives, who was the daughter of the despot of Servia. This princess was honorably sent back to the dominions of her father, with whom Mahomet ratified the alliance which Amurath had formerly made. The Greek emperor's ambassadors were likewise received as friends. The new monarch prepared in silence the attempts which he meant to make ; he renewed the alliance with all his tributaries, swearing to them a constant peace, by the prophet whose name he bore.

Every one was particularly interested to live on good terms with this dangerous enemy. Caraman Ogli alone, the first year of Mahomet's reign, had the presumption to try his forces. As soon as he had learned the death of Amurath, he hastened to pass his frontiers to recover the country which that conqueror had wrested from him. Mahomet crossed the straits with his European

J.C. 1451.
Heg. 855.

Mahomet reduces Caraman Ogli. He augments his artillery, and builds the second castle on the Dardanelles.

forces.

J.C. 1451.
Heg. 855.

forces. The rebellious vassal, who had expected that some of the other princes would have made diversions, seeing himself alone exposed to this powerful enemy, hastened to appease him. He restored every thing that he had taken, and paid Mahomet the whole expence of his armament. The sultan, who was at that time meditating greater things, contented himself with humbling this tributary prince, whose estates he was sure of taking whenever he pleased. On his return to Adrianople, Mahomet enticed away from the Greek emperor several experienced founders and workmen, to whom Constantine did not give sufficient wages. The Turk wished to have a formidable artillery, and to establish batteries on both sides of the straits. For this purpose he proposed to build a fort on the west side, directly facing that which his grandfather had built on the east, in order to render himself absolute master of this important passage. One may suppose that this enterprize greatly alarmed the Greeks, confined more and more within their walls. They saw the sultan meditated to take them by famine, since no vessel could any longer enter Constantinople, without passing under the cannon of these two forts.

Constantine sent ambassadors to Mahomet, to complain of what he termed an infraction of treaty. The Turk replied haughtily, that he was master of the land conquered by his ancestors;

tors; that he would construct on it what edifice he pleased, without any of his allies' having a right to complain; that providing for his own safety was not an infringement of treaty. Constantine, displeased with this answer, sent a new embassy to insist on his request being complied with. The Turkish emperor replied the second time, that he would slay alive the person who should dare speak to him in future of destroying these works.

J.C. 1451.
Heg. 855.

The Greek emperor vainly opposes the building of this new fort.

Meanwhile, Mahomet spared neither pains nor expence to finish expeditiously this new citadel, which consisted of three large towers united by curtains and defended by advanced works. He laid the foundation himself, and saw the work raised under his own eyes. The ruins of several fine churches served for the construction of this edifice. Some Greeks, armed by devotion for the defence of their temples, were put to the sword; the principal officers affected to conduct the works, in order to please the sultan who put his own hands to them. Constantine, incapable of putting a stop to the raising of these fatal fortifications, sent to beg the emperor as a favor, not to permit the Greeks' harvests to be destroyed; he also sent him a large quantity of provisions for his workmen and their escorts. Notwithstanding all these submissions, Mahomet grazed his horses in the Greeks' meadows, and had their corn cut to support his men. The farmers

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

farmers were slaughtered on the places that they attempted to defend, and the environs of Constantinople exhibited to view the commencement of the disaster which menaced that immense city.

He implores the assistance of pope Nicholas V. but the people oppose the re-union required by the pontiff.

Constantine, reduced to the last extremity, was at a loss where to find succours. He had in the city a prodigious number of monks, priests, artificers, shopkeepers, and workmen, all people but little calculated for the fatigues of war, and whom he did not suppose to possess either the force or courage necessary to repulse the enemy. In this extremity, he flattered himself with some assistance from the Latins, whom necessity alone made him consider as his brethren; for neither the emperor, nor hardly any of the Greeks, had strictly adhered to the council of Florence, where the union of the Latin and Greek churches had been declared. On the return of the prelates to Constantinople, all the Greeks had risen up against what they termed their cowardice; and the efforts which those who were real friends of their country had made to destroy the schism, seemed to have given it new force. Notwithstanding these dispositions, the emperor sent to pope Nicholas V. who, before he would think of giving the least assistance, or even of asking any from the European princes for the Greeks, sent cardinal Isidore, archbishop of Kiof, to Constantinople, to consummate the union. The instant
perils

perils which threatened them could not force the Greeks to feign sufficiently to deceive the prelate. Those, who saw the clearest how much they wanted the assistance of the Latins, consented to celebrate the holy mysteries with the legate, and to sign the decree of union, on condition however, that, when it should have pleased God to restore them peace, and to deliver Constantinople from the danger with which it was threatened, the said decree should be carefully examined by qualified persons, and corrected, if it should be found necessary. The monks and nuns, who held the highest rank in the Greek Church, bitterly reproached all those who had consented to commune with the Latins: "Drive the enemy from our walls," replied the latter, "and you shall soon see if we support the Azimites more than you." This was the name that the Greeks gave the Latins, because one of the differences between the two rites, consists in the Greeks' making use of leavened bread for the sacrifice of the mass, and the Latins of azimed or unleavened bread. The pressing want of the pope's assistance, added to the false complaisance of the Greek emperor and his court, excited more and more the animosity of the enthusiasts. Some monks, respected for their doctrine and the severity of their manners, issued anathemas, from the bottom of their cells, against the legate and all those who had communed with

R him.

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

him. The priests shut their churches against those that had assisted in St. Sophia's at the celebration of the mysteries, the day on which cardinal Isidore had proposed to verify the union: no one would enter the metropolitical church, which was thought prophaned: this false zeal had passed even among the dregs of the people; the public-houses were full of artificers, who, with their glasses in their hands, pronounced anathemas against the pope and the Latins, drank in honor of the miraculous virgin, whose worship was performed in the city, and conjured her, with tears in their eyes, produced by the wine, to protect Constantinople from the enterprises of the pope, and to deliver, without his assistance, a people, whose only hope was in her. These cries reached the ears of the legate, who wrote to Rome all the testimonies of hatred with which he was loaded. Nicholas V. took care how he employed his credit, still more his forces, for such inveterate enemies; he readily abandoned them to him, whom he looked upon as the instrument of the decrees of God.

Meanwhile, Mahomet's troops laid waste that part of the Morea which the Greeks had still left, and of which the two brothers of Constantine, Thomas and Demetrius, had divided the government. The Turks had desolated the country; they were in possession of all the forts and most of the towns. The two despots, who had

had taken refuge in Sparta, now called Misitra, were in momentary expectation of fetters. Constantine, too certain of the storm which he saw ready to break on him, thought of provisioning his city; he asked succours of the Genoese. The latter had never presumed to declare themselves against the Turks, but they wished more than any other people to see their power balanced. They sent to Constantinople five large vessels, loaded with every kind of provision, and five hundred chosen men. Though this convoy did not carry the Genoese flag, Mahomet was very certain of his being betrayed by these pretended allies; but he remitted his vengeance to a more favorable opportunity, and lost not a moment to endeavour to take these five vessels, or at least to prevent them from entering the port of Constantinople. Whether Mahomet received intelligence too late, or that, in advancing as far as the straits of Gallipoli to oppose the passage of the five Genoese vessels, he was afraid of being attacked in the rear by those which were in the port of Constantinople, he waited for them at the entrance of this port at the head of a hundred sail, all barks or galleys, badly constructed or badly commanded. This occasion demonstrates what judgment, address, and valour, can do against number. The historians don't mention any thing of the Genoese cannon's replying to that of the Turks; without doubt they

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

Mahomet takes the greatest part of the Morea. Five Genoese vessels enter the port of Constantinople, spite of the efforts of a hundred sail of Turks to prevent them.

J.C. 1452.
Heg. 856.

were not yet in use on the sea. Ducas and Calcondilus speak only of war engines, which broke the oars and shattered the vessels. The darts which obscured the air killed but few Genoese. At length their five vessels entered the port across this immense Turkish fleet. Mahomet was so enraged at this humiliation, that he struck with his hand the captain bashaw, admiral of the fleet, who had not been able to make his orders understood, or was incapable of giving them.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

Mahomet
lays siege
to Con-
stantino-
ple. Situ-
ation of
that great
city.

This unsuccessful attempt no way abated the ardour with which the preparations for the siege were made. Mahomet transported his artillery, at an immense expence, to the neighbourhood of Constantinople. The fables which the Greek and Turkish historians have copied from each other respecting this artillery, teach us but too clearly, how faulty the recitals of antiquity are. Mahomet, they say, drew, with sixty pair of oxen, a single cannon that was nine feet in diameter, and which carried bullets of eleven hands breadth in circumference. § Be that as it may, in the beginning of the spring of the year 1453, Mahomet II. appeared at the head of three hundred

§ The impossibility of the thing demonstrates the falshood of it. The volume of powder requisite to carry this enormous bullet, could not have been inflamed in the same time, and consequently could not have produced its effect. The numerous artillery that might have been formed of the metal of this immense cannon, would have been more useful in the siege, and more formidable to the enemy, than a machine without proportion, the first trial of which must have demonstrated its inutility.

dred thousand men before a city, certainly well fortified both by art and nature, but which at most did not contain above eight thousand fighting men, even if we count the citizens who had armed through zeal, and mixed with the Venetians and Genoese, who were come to second the few regular troops that Constantine yet kept in pay. This was all that remained of that Roman empire, which, during so many ages, had governed the world. Constantinople was at that time eighteen miles in compass; this great city formed, and still forms, an acute angle, the point of which is situated east, advancing towards the sea, and faces the Bosphorus of Thrace. This is where the grand seignior's seraglio is at present. The west side, which forms the base of the angle, joins the continent: it was defended by a double wall, provided with a large ditch filled with salt water; for all that side of the angle, facing the south, is watered by the Propontis, and that to the north by another arm of the sea, which enters the land, and forms an immense basin between the ramparts of Constantinople, and a neck of land on which Galata is built. The whole together presents to the sight the most magnificent port in the whole world. The entrance, which is six hundred paces broad, was at that time shut by a staccado, the middle of which was defended by two iron chains, and by the vessels in the port. The Venetians

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

~ Venetians had forced this defence with their vessels in 1203, when, in conjunction with the French, they took this city; but such a work was not to be expected from Turkish pilots and sailors, who were nothing near so good seamen as the Europeans. And indeed, the sea would have been an impenetrable rampart for Mahomet, if invention, courage, and money, had not made up for the talent in which his pilots were deficient.

Mahomet
conveys
overland
sixty ves-
sels.

Mahomet, after having established fourteen batteries on the land side, which kept up a continual fire, determined to penetrate into the port, in order to be able to attack the place on the maritime quarter. He first took possession of Galata, which he effected without difficulty, as the besieged had given up its defence. As soon as he was master of this bank, he had a road made overland, on which he conveyed, by means of horses, oxen, strength of arms, and machines, sixty vessels, which were launched and masted during the night in this very port which the Greeks had neglected to guard, because they thought it impregnable. The next day the consternation was general, when the besieged, who thought they had only to guard the double wall next the continent, saw, close to their ramparts, barks and galleys, in which war engines and battering rams were already preparing; wooden towers, disposed at equal distances, contained soldiers;

diers, who kept up a brisk fire with small arms, and discharged showers of darts at those of the garrison who ran to attempt to dismount these terrible machines. This fact, attested by all the historians, will appear perhaps incredible, but difficulties, reputed insurmountable, have often yielded to perseverance and industry. J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

What soldiers there were in Constantinople, animated by religion and the fear of falling into the hands of Mahomet, fought with a courage approaching despair. The emperor was always at the head of his troops; but, as the attacks multiplied every moment, he appointed a noble Genoese, well experienced in the defence of places, for his lieutenant. The garrison was not sufficiently numerous, in proportion to the besiegers, to make sallies; this Genoese lieutenant, called Justiniani, confined the defence to repairing, during the night, the breaches made by the machines or batteries in the day. The promptitude of his operations astonished the besiegers, and always presented new fortifications to them. Their batteries were often dismounted by those in the place. The wild fire and floods of boiling oil, which the besieged threw from the walls, set on fire these wooden towers, in which, as we have said, soldiers were put, in order to approach the rampart on the side next the sea.

This

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

A Venetian
vainly en-
deavours to
burn these
vessels, and
perishes in
the at-
tempt.

This fleet, arrived as by a miracle in the port, disquieted the besieged infinitely more than all the other efforts of the Turks. The emperor's fleet had attempted to engage it, but had been less fortunate in attacking than in defending; the Turks had sunk two vessels, which had kept the others in awe. A brave Venetian, called Cop, undertook to burn the fleet in the night; he communicated his design to Constantine, demanding only three barks and forty determined men for the execution. This courageous enterprize would have perhaps saved Constantinople, but it was discovered by a Genoese, the enemy of Cop, who, through animosity and the hope of a reward, informed the Turks of all the Venetian's proceedings. He conveyed his letter at the end of an arrow into one of the Turkish galleys, which was soon carried to Mahomet, who kept upon his guard. The three barks were purposely permitted to approach, when they were attacked in the moment of execution; this was perfectly unexpected to the Venetian, who had no other arms than the combustibles intended for the enemy's fleet, and which were soon turned against himself. They discharged a shower of arrows at him, each of which carried a lighted match: the three barks were in flames in an instant. They were not sufficiently near the Turkish fleet to communicate the fire. Cop and his companions threw themselves into
the

the sea, rather than be burnt alive. The Turks saved them all; but this was only to butcher them the next day in sight of the besieged, who, by way of retaliation, hanged two hundred and sixty Turkish prisoners on the ramparts. The Genoese, who had accompanied those whom he betrayed, abjured his religion, and received a considerable recompense.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

The miscarriage of this enterprize terrified the besieged. The consequences were near being more fatal than the execution had been. The Venetians bitterly reproached the Genoese with the perfidy of their countryman. The great duke or admiral, the first officer of the empire, was jealous of the authority which Constantine had given Justiniani, the chief of the Genoese, who commanded next to the emperor, and possessed all his confidence. These intestine divisions increased to such a degree in a few days, that the two opposite parties were like to slaughter one another within the walls. Constantine prevented the disaster which menaced him, by mixing authority with prayers, and by conjuring his subjects and the soldiers come to defend him, not to do him more mischief than his greatest enemies. This prince, who possessed by nature both talents and courage, was deserving of a better fate; but he was unable to stop the destiny of the empire, or the torrent which was hurrying it away. Constantine seemed to be born

Division between the besieged. The Greek emperor buys intelligence in Mahomet's army.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

to the throne, only to experience at once all the misfortunes which menace sovereigns. He kept off for some weeks the blow which he was unable to avoid, by procuring intelligence with the enemy. The treasures accumulated by his predecessors amidst the miseries of the empire, were employed in corrupting Mahomet's ministers. Ali, grand vizier to that prince, promised, for a sum of money, to traverse the operations of the siege. The confidence which his master had always placed in him, enabled him to defeat his designs. It is impossible to account otherwise for the length of the siege of Constantinople, defended against three hundred thousand men, solely by eight thousand, particularly after Mahomet had found means to batter the place on the side next the sea, and to multiply his attacks. The breaches were open on every side, and the besieged, who had already lost a great number of men, were insufficient to repair them. The different works of the Turks menaced the place more and more; the ditches were half filled up, courage failed a people who were strangers to toil, who, as we shall see presently, were abused by superstitions, and whom the prospect of an approaching famine filled with despair.

The ramparts are forced, and the emperor killed.

Constantine made a last effort; he sent an embassy to the Turk to offer him any tribute that he should demand, and to represent to him the injustice of invading a country which consented

to

to submit. But Mahomet wished to efface every trace of the Greek dominion. He replied, that Constantinople was already his conquest; that, if Constantine would surrender it to him without resistance, he would spare much blood: he even offered him the enjoyment during his life of that part of the Morea which yet belonged to the Greek empire, in order that the last emperor might not entirely lose the state of sovereign. Whatever the Turkish historians may have said, whose recitals, copied from each other, are beyond all credibility, Constantine resolved to defend to the last moment this precious remnant of the Roman empire, and to die with it. This was what Mahomet had expected; he had disposed every thing for a general assault; he surrounded the place on every side that was open, and promised the pillage to the soldiers, abandoning to them, without reserve, all the effects and all the inhabitants, solely reserving to himself the territory and buildings. Mahomet distributed at each breach his worst troops, composed of soldiers collected in haste, and who knew not how to fight; they were sustained or rather constrained by the janissaries, who, with sticks or swords in their hands, forced these wretches to place ladders and mount the first to the assault. Mahomet calculated men in the chances of war with more exactness than humanity; numerous as were these troops, he considered them

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

of no other use to him, than to fill up the ditches by the number of dead bodies, and to fatigue the arms and blunt the steel of the enemy. In effect, they all mounted to the assault, and not one reached the breach. All these operations, commenced at the same time, seemed to rouse the courage of the besieged, who precipitated from the tops of the ladders thousands of men, penetrated with terror, as soon as they were gotten up. But when the janissaries, marching on the bodies of these wretches, mounted in their turn, with as much agility as courage, the Greeks experienced efforts, which they were unable to resist. The attack of these brave soldiers was covered by a shower of arrows discharged at a small distance, almost every one of which reached its destination. The lieutenant Justiniani received one of these arrows, which pierced his hand through the gauntlet with which it was covered, and another struck him in the shoulder for want of his cuirass; forced by extreme anguish, he quitted his post to seek relief. The Greek emperor learned at another breach, where he commanded in person, the discouragement which Justiniani's retreat had spread along the ramparts. In effect, the janissaries approached in greater number towards this place; they soon reached the top of the wall; and having redoubled the slaughter and enlarged the breach, whole battalions mounted by this opening, where they

they no longer saw any resistance. They ran along the ramparts, and distributed themselves at the different assaults where their comrades had not yet succeeded. The unfortunate Constantine, seeing himself between two fires, and knowing the enemy were spread over the city, exclaimed, *Will no Christian deign, through pity, to take my life?* To prevent his falling alive into the hands of the vanquisher, he laid aside his gilded arms, and precipitated himself into the middle of the janissaries, who killed him without knowing him. J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

Whilst the chiefs and soldiers were braving death on the breaches, the silly people ran to St. Sophia's to await the event of a pretended prediction. Some impostor had prognosticated to them, a long time before, that the Turks should enter Constantinople one day, and would penetrate as far as the column of Constantine, where an Angel should descend from Heaven, and put into the hands of a common man a sword and a sceptre, saying to him: "Avenge the people of the Lord;" that the Turks would immediately take to flight; that the Greeks should drive them in turn, under the command of this king, chosen by God himself, and that they would pursue them as far a place called Monardera on the frontiers of Persia. The Greeks, on the faith of this absurd prophecy, almost rejoiced to see their fellow citizens slaughtered; shut up in
the

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

the churches, they were addressing tumultuous prayers to God, when the shouts of victory, and the noise of the axes breaking open the doors, announced to them death or captivity. The janissaries surrounded this unarmed multitude; avarice softened their barbarity; they bound them together two and two, choosing rather to sell or employ them in their service, than to massacre them. Almost all the soldiers had perished by the sword of the conqueror.

Constanti-
nople is
pillaged.
Mahomet
has his vi-
zier strang-
led, for
having fa-
vored the
Greeks.

The great duke or admiral was more unfortunate than all the others. The magnificence of his arms discovered him; he was conducted alive to Mahomet, who treated him at first with some humanity. The conqueror asked him, why the Greeks had persisted in defending Constantinople. You have, said he, lost your property and liberty, which I would have preserved you. The prisoner, who had no longer any thing to dissemble, replied: Your first officers encouraged us to hold out, averring that you would never be able to reduce us. This answer instantly recalled to Mahomet's mind, some advice, which his grand vizier, Ali, had presumed to give him, against his interest and glory. The great duke, who named no one, confirmed by this reply all the suspicions of the emperor, and the vizier was strangled immediately. The assault had been given in the evening, and the city was pillaged in the depth of the night. The torches and
arms

arms carried terror every where.* Notwith-
standing the calamity of Constantinople, there
was still that magnificence, which the ancient
splendor

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

* The women (says Vertot in his *Histoire des Chevaliers de Malte*;) detested the fecundity which had made them mothers, and bitterly lamented the fate of the young infants that they carried in their arms. An infinity of young girls, timid and faltering in their steps, who, not knowing where to go, wandered about like wretched strangers in the very bosom of their country, and, whilst they were in quest of their relations, fell into an abyss of horrors, and into the hands of barbarians, from whom they experienced a treatment, more horrible, to them, than the most cruel punishment. Neither their tears nor cries touched the insolent conqueror, and the meanest of the Turks had an accomplished beauty for his prey, though often taken from him by another Turk, either stronger than himself, or of higher authority in the army. Most of these barbarians set their prisoners up to sale; but the men of quality, the princes, and officers who were taken under arms, were executed by the sultan's orders: none escaped his cruelty but the handsomest young persons of both sexes, whom he reserved for the abominations of his seraglio.

It was thus that a young Greek lady of noble birth, called Irene, hardly seventeen years old, fell into his hands. A bashaw had just made her his slave; but struck with her exquisite beauty, thought her a present worthy of the sultan. The east had never before given birth to so charming a creature; her beauty was irresistible, and triumphed over the savage Mahomet; rough as he was, he was forced to yield himself entirely to this new passion; and in order to have fewer avocations from his amorous assiduities, he passed several days without permitting his ministers and the principal officers of the army to see him. Irene followed him afterward to Adrianople, where he fixed the residence of the young Greek. As for himself, on whatever side he turned his arms, he would often, in the midst of the most important expeditions, leave the command to his generals, and return on the wings of love to Irene. It was soon perceived that war was no longer his reigning passion: the soldiers, who were inured to plunder, and accustomed to find booty in following him, murmured at the change. This dissatisfaction spread and became contagious: the officers, as well as the soldiers, complained of his effeminate life: yet his wrath was so terrible, that no body durst undertake to speak to him on that subject. At length, as the discontents of the soldiery were just going to break out,

Mustapha

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

splendor of the empire had introduced. Rich clothes, magnificent furniture, gold, and precious stones, every where offered to the avidity of the soldiery. In the space of a few hours, all were bending under the weight of their booty. The sack

Mustapha bashaw, consulting only the fidelity which he owed his master, was the first that gave him notice of the discourses which the janissaries held publicly to the prejudice of his glory.

The sultan continued some time in a sullen and deep silence, as if he was considering in himself what resolution he should take; the only answer Mustapha received was, an order to summon the bashaws to assemble the next day, with all the guards, and the tropps that were posted about the city, under pretence of a review; after which he went into Irene's apartment, and stayed with her all the night.

Never did the young princefs appear so charming in his eyes; never too had the prince given her such tender marks of his love before: and in order, if possible, to bestow new lustre on her beauty, he desired her maids to exert all their care and skill in dressing her. When she was thus set out and adjusted to appear in public, he took her by the hand and led her into the middle of the assembly; when, tearing off the veil that covered her face, he haughtily asked the bashaws around, if they had ever seen a more perfect beauty. All the officers, like true courtiers, were lavish of their praises, and congratulated him on his felicity. Upon which, Mahomet, taking the fair Greek by the hair with one hand, and drawing his sword with the other, at one stroke, separated her head from her body; then turning about to his grandees, with eyes rolling and flashing with fire: *This sword*, said he to them, *whenever I please, can cut asunder the ties of love.* The whole assembly was struck with horror, and shuddered at the sight: the dread they were all seized with, of being treated in the like manner, made the most mutinous of them tremble: every one thought he saw the fatal sword lifted over his own head; but if they escaped his sanguinary temper at that moment, it was only to have his revenge the better. Mustapha, as a reward for his faithful advice, was first sacrificed, and on a slight pretence; he caused him to be strangled in the seraglio; and in the long wars in which he was afterward engaged, and that lasted as long as his reign, he had the cruel pleasure of dispatching most of the janissaries one after another, who, by their seditious cries, had interrupted his pleasures, and awaked his fury. *Translator.*

sack of Constantinople was perhaps the least bloody of any related in history. The soldiers killed, only some young persons of both sexes, on whom they could not agree as to the division, and who were massacred, through debauchery and rage, by those who would not give them up to the strongest. The churches, which were richer than in any other part of Christendom, were pillaged still more than the palaces of the grandees. The Turks committed every profanation with which the excess of victory could inspire ferocious men, who thought to honor their religion by insulting that of the vanquished. They dragged about the streets the images of Jesus Christ, the virgin Mary, and the Saints, though the Alcoran acknowledges the former for a prophet, and his mother for a virgin after her delivery: they drank out of the sacred vases, and employed some of them for infamous uses; they covered their horses with the ornaments of the priests and prelates, whom they were pleased to load, all enchained as they were, with the gold and silver plundered from their churches. Cardinal Isidore, the pope's legate, was taken prisoner and sold like the rest, but was so fortunate as to conceal his name and dignity. The Turks, who detested the Latin Christians still more than the Greeks, knew that a cardinal resided at that time at Constantinople, and vainly endeavoured to discover him. The cardinal

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legate

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

legate deceived them, by taking the clothes from a dead body, and leaving it the marks of his dignity, in the moment that he saw the city on the point of being taken. No one betrayed him, undoubtedly because no one knew him again. In this disguise he was sold for a trifle to a merchant, who valued him but little on account of his age and weakness. In the sequel, he found means to escape from his captivity and return to Rome, where he ended his days.* Constantinople was taken by the Turks on the 20th of the month which they call Gimaafel-euvel, in the year of the hegira 857, the 28th of our May, in the year of J. C. 1453,† two thousand two hundred and five years after the foundation of Rome, and eleven hundred and twenty-three after Constantine had removed the seat of the empire to Byzantium, and had given his name to that celebrated city, designed to become the capital of another great empire. Thus ended the last shadow of Roman greatness, that had spread itself over half the world, and which had decayed nearly in the same space of time, that it had taken to raise itself.‡

Mahomet

* If we may believe this cardinal, in contradiction to every historian, Mahomet violated the empress in the church of St. Sophia. *Translator.*

† This was in the 31st year of the reign of Henry VI. of England.

Translator.

‡ It is at the taking of Constantinople, that the epoch of the revival of letters in Europe is fixed. Several learned persons passed from Greece into Italy,

Mahomet made his entrance into Constantinople about the eighth hour, that is, about two in the afternoon. The streets resounded with the acclamations of the soldiers; not a single Greek remained. The emperor's retinue displayed a warlike magnificence; he alighted at St. Sophia's. This church had been pillaged like all the other temples. Mahomet stopped some soldiers, who, under pretext of religion, were going to pull down the very marble with which the inside was decorated: "Be contented with the booty which I have abandoned to you," said he, "the city and all its edifices belong to me." He ordered an

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

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iman

Italy, from whence they spread themselves all over the West. They brought with them a more perfect knowledge of their language, valuable manuscripts of their best authors, and the precepts of that eloquence which received its birth in their climes, and that the Romans had formerly borrowed when they subjugated them. It seems the new conquerors have disdained to owe this advantage to the vanquished. The Turks are never educated in the school of the Greek orators. For a long time the study of Homer and Demosthenes had been neglected in the universities of the West; but it soon recovered itself after the fall of the eastern empire. Gregory of Tiférne was the first who publicly taught Greek and Rhetoric at Paris. The society of arts ordered him a hundred crowns a year. Before this professor of eloquence, the students passed from Grammar to Logic. The art of Oratory came to embellish this part of philosophy, and lent it new force. They reckon among the most celebrated of these illustrious Greeks who enriched France with the treasures of their country, Bassarion, who was honored with the Roman purple, Argyropile, George of Trebizond, Philelphe, Hermonyme of Sparta, and Andronicus of Thessalonica. About the commencement of this century, the learned Emmanuel Chrysolore restored the taste for Greek literature in Italy. He taught Leonard Aretin and Le Pogge of Florence. *Translator.*

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

iman to ascend into the patriarchial pulpit and chant the aizan, which is a canticle of actions of grace, containing the Mahometan faith: after which, he went and took possession of the imperial palace. It is said, that on entering it, he made an extemporary distich on his victory.

After having eaten in the palace, ornamented, notwithstanding the pillage, with furniture repurchased from the janissaries, he went to contemplate the magnificence of the port and some edifices, most of which he changed into mosques. He then went and visited the wife of the great duke, who was sick; he consoled her, and promised that she should have her liberty, as likewise her husband and children. The same day Mahomet redeemed several Greek families from the hands of their ravishers; he intended them to repeople Constantinople. Policy prevailed on him to leave these people the free exercise of their religion, as authorised by the Alcoran. Some churches were set apart for the Christian worship. The fate of the last emperor of Constantinople was not yet known; the conqueror had him sought with great care. Two soldiers brought him a head, which they averred was Constantine's. Mahomet sent for the great duke, who instantly knew it. Phranzes, a contemporary author, and a witness of the siege, reports, that the sultan, after shewing it to the
grandeess,

grandees, had it honorably interred. The other J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857. Greek writers say, that it was exposed, by order of the emperor, on the top of a column; that precautions were afterward taken to prevent its corruption; and that it was sent into Asia to intimidate the tributary princes.

Be that as it may, Mahomet soon gave more odious marks of his cruelty. He was particularly given to wine; this vice had introduced every other into his heart. The day after his entry into Constantinople, having drunk to access, he sent orders to Notaras, the great duke, to send him his second son, a young man, whose beauty had struck the emperor. Notaras, who 'till then had received from Mahomet, only marks of clemency and even favors, (for the prince had given a thousand aspers to him, his wife, and each of his children,) was overcome with astonishment, grief, and shame; after having caused this odious order to be repeated to him several times, he declared, that he would sooner lose his life, than part with his son, and he prepared to make resistance. As soon as Mahomet had received these news, he ordered Notaras to be put to death, as likewise his two sons. The unfortunate father blessed God, that the tyrant's rage had stifled his abominable passion. When he was told that his two children should be put to death before him, he subscribed to the decree with a sort of joy; he bathed them with tears, exhorting

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

ing them to prefer a speedy death, to the infamy with which they would be covered for the remainder of a long life. He beheld these two innocent victims beheaded, and then presented his own neck to the executioner. His wife, already sick, expired with grief a few days after. All the fathers were not so courageous as the great duke; Mahomet filled his seraglio with children of both sexes, intended for his pleasures, whom he caused to be educated and instructed to his mind, after having torn them from parents left at liberty in Constantinople.

Mahomet
wants to
pass for en-
voy from
God.

Amidst all these horrors, Mahomet II. aspired at the title of envoy from God, and would fain blend with his success what was marvellous and supernatural. He had with him a dervis called Cheik, a sort of hireling prophet, and a man of revelations and extasies, whose profession was to pray to God and Mahomet for the prosperity of the empire, and who endeavoured to prevail on the Mahometans to adore the emperor's vices, as much as his power was feared. The third day after the taking of Constantinople, this man published in the new mosque of St. Sophia, that the triumph of the most powerful emperor had been predicted to Constantine, the last Greek emperor, by Ioub, a friend of God and of the prophet; that this servant of God, being on the point of death by the hands of the executioner (without doubt for some crime), had declared
aloud,

aloud, that within the year, he should have an avenger, the instrument of the Divinity, called Mahomet like the great prophet, who should for ever efface from the universe the Greek empire and its princes, who would establish the true worship in Constantinople, and who should honor his (Ioub's) tomb, to whom the Lord had revealed all these things. Cheik added, that, notwithstanding the care taken by the Infidels to conceal the tomb of Ioub, and even to disperse his bones, God had shewn it to him, and he would go and open it. He immediately conducted the emperor, accompanied by a great number of people, to the suburb which from thence took the name of Ioub; he had a place digged up, which to every appearance was free from suspicion, when, at a certain depth, they found a large tomb, on which was written in Arabic characters rather recent: "Here is the sepulchre of Ioub, the constant friend, the counsellor, and the apostle of God, whose aid be more and more propitious." Beneath this tomb was a body, either exceedingly well preserved, or which had never had time to corrupt. This miracle was celebrated with every demonstration of joy. Mahomet gave the name of the pretended prophet to the suburb where it had been found, and had an elegant tubé or mausoleum built over the tomb, with a mosque and a public school.

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

The

J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

Mahomet
endeavours
to repeople
Constanti-
nople.

The emperor entered Galata on the fifth day, and ordered the inhabitants to be numbered.

They found very few people in this town, which almost all the Genoese had abandoned to avoid the wrath of a prince whose alliance they had betrayed. Mahomet did no other mischief than reunite the town to that of Constantinople, of which it was no longer but a suburb. He had the possessions of all the fugitives inventoried with great exactness, ordering, that they should be restored to them, provided they returned to their habitations within three months, otherwise they should be confiscated. He determined likewise to pull down the walls of Galata, and to repair the breaches of Constantinople. Besides the Greeks that were to repeople it, and to whom, as we have already observed, he left some churches, ten thousand families, taken from different provinces, were ordered, upon pain of death, to come and settle in Constantinople before the end of September. Houses and considerable lands were given them. The situation of this celebrated city, its commerce and the residence of its monarchs, must ever render it one of the most advantageous habitations in the universe. But force was necessary to determine the people to leave their native homes. This mean was never regarded by Mahomet: whole families were dragged from the extremities of Europe, and received, against their consent, last-
ing

ing establishments, in exchange for miserable habitations, which they were forced to quit. J.C. 1453.
Heg. 857.

The town of Selivrea sent to ask a governor and garrison of Mahomet; which having granted, he set out the 18th of June for Adrianople. His march was more like a triumph than any thing else; the people ran in crowds to admire the number of slaves which this conqueror dragged after him, and the rich booty with which his soldiers were loaded. Though Mahomet's thoughts were so taken up with the repeopling of his new conquest, he never lost sight of the design of making new ones. He reduced, in a short time, either in person, or by his lieutenants, the rest of the Morea. The Greeks were no longer sufficiently formidable to oppose him with forces to be feared. But although he brought several countries under subjection almost without striking a blow, all the enemies of Mahomet were not beneath his courage. J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.

Scanderbeg, whose talents and valour had proved so fatal to Amurath II. could not remain long without attacking the Turks, whom he mortally hated. This prince, the greatest general of his time, was, as we have seen, sovereign of a small territory, heretofore wrested from his ancestors, which did not furnish him with soldiers sufficient to make conquests by himself. Tired of keeping on the defensive, he solicited the Christian princes to send some forces to join Exploits of
Scander-
beg.

U

the

J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.

the army under his command; but there was neither sufficient unanimity between the different powers, nor an equal interest to oppose the Turks. Scanderbeg resolved to declare war by himself against the son of his enemy: he entered Macedonia, at the head of eight thousand men, where he took several castles and ravaged the country. Mahomet disdained to march against such a petty prince, or rather he was afraid to trust himself against so great a general. For three successive years did Mahomet send his best lieutenants, at the head of a superior army, against the prince of Albania, and each time were they beaten. Scanderbeg knew how to take such advantages of ground and circumstances, that he cut in pieces, or dispersed, all the troops sent against him. Mahomet, exasperated, set out himself, at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men, to lay siege to Croia; but he changed his mind on the road, and left Libanus, who had already been vanquished several times by Scanderbeg, to attempt this siege, at the head of fifty thousand men only. This expedition was not more fortunate than the preceding ones. After two months of almost uninterrupted losses, Libanus retired.

Origin of
the Order
of Malta.

This warrior was not the only obstacle which Mahomet met with. The knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, called knights of Malta since their being sovereigns of that island, possessed at that time

time the isle of Rhodes. They were a bulwark <sup>J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.</sup> for the Christians, which the Mahometan monarch longed to destroy. This order had its rise at Jerusalem in the middle of the eleventh century. Some charitable men, touched with the misfortunes experienced by those who went to visit the Holy places, conceived the design of establishing a hospital there, in which all the pilgrims should be received. Several noblemen and gentlemen joined in this charitable undertaking. As the unfortunate pilgrims were very often robbed or assassinated in crossing Palestine, the managers of the hospital at Jerusalem, become numerous, armed themselves to escort them. They laid their institution before pope Pascal II. and requested his permission to form themselves into a religious order. After the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey of Bouillon, the knights of St. John formed a military corps, under the command of the new king, whose first object was, always to protect the pilgrimage to the Holy places, and the second, to make conquests from the Infidels. All the Christian princes, even some private lords, were emulous to give lands in their countries to these knights, who were subjects of different nations, in acknowledgment of the hospitality which they exercised, and of the important services they did in Palestine. The produce of these lands served to feed a great number of poor, and to keep

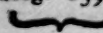
J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.

troops on foot, which were of great assistance in all the crusades. The knights of Saint John, and the knights Templars, who had formed themselves into an Order like the former, were at the head of every military expedition. These religious soldiers gave to all the Crusaders an example but little followed, of a life austere and laborious; they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, whilst the other Crusaders, victims to debauchery and change of climate, and overcome with contagious diseases, seemed to have passed the seas, only to fall under the weight of misfortune or the sword of the Saracens. At length, when the remains of these numerous emigrations had been driven out of Palestine, the knights were the last to leave it. They retired to the isle of Cyprus, where the family of Lusignan, who had lost the throne of Jerusalem, then reigned. The discontent experienced by the knights in this precarious residence, the spirit of the institution, which obliged them to be continually in arms against the Mahometans, and more than all, the love of glory, so natural to warriors, raised in their breasts a desire to get possession of the isle of Rhodes, so celebrated in antiquity for the fertility of its soil and the politeness of its inhabitants. They flattered themselves with being able to penetrate from thence into Asia, to disturb the Mussulmen, and, perhaps, one day, to return to Palestine.

The

The isle of Rhodes was at that time inhabited by Greeks, whom some Saracens had persuaded to shake off the yoke of their emperor. Fulk Villaret, at that time grand master of Saint John of Jerusalem, interested the pope, and most of the Christian princes, in this enterprize. In the fourteenth century, Clement V. published a crusade, to which a multitude of Latin Christians earnestly contributed. All the money, which the Faithful brought in abundance, was received, and only the best soldiers admitted on board the vessels of the Order, the grand master preferring an army less numerous, but on which he could depend, to a crowd of men without choice, without strength, and without discipline, such as had composed the former crusades, when they had served only to scandalize, to confuse, and to spread contagious diseases. Villaret wished to obtain the investiture of the isle of Rhodes from the Greek emperor, to whom it had belonged. He offered him a tribute, and the annual service of three hundred knights ; but Andronicus, who was at that time on the throne of Constantinople, hated the Latins too much to grant them any thing that might lead to an union of the two Churches. After a formal refusal, the grand master undertook the conquest which he had meditated. The consent of the Greek emperor would not have diminished the fatigues of this war, which was very bloody, and lasted four years.

At

J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.  At length the order of St. John got possession of a fine sovereignty, which it owed to the valour of its votaries, and to the pecuniary succours of all the princes of Europe. A short time after, the knights of Rhodes, for so they were called after their conquest, were enriched with the spoils of these unfortunate Templars, whose crimes are a problem in history, and whose punishment was a scandal throughout Christendom.

The Order
of St. John
gives um-
brage to
Mahomet.

The possession of the isle of Rhodes changed the nature of the war, which the knights of St. John had to make continually against the Infidels: instead of forming squadrons of horse, they armed vessels; and, as Palestine was always their main object, they attacked the soudan of Egypt, who became their principal enemy. Their success and riches having augmented their glory, Mahomet II. the new emperor of Constantinople, looked on them as very dangerous neighbours. He sent a chiau* to summon them to pay him tribute, and to acknowledge the emperor of Constantinople for high sovereign of their island, Rhodes having been always held of the owner of that city. John Lastic, at that time grand master, replied, that the knights were indebted to God and their swords alone, for the possession of the island; that as they had taken it, so they would

* A sort of tip-staff, or bailiff; a messenger. Most of the Turkish words made use of in this work, will be explained in the Index.

would defend it; and that their duty and faith had made them enemies of the Mahometans, not their tributaries. After this spirited answer, the knights exerted every effort to repulse the attack which they had reason to expect. All the subjects of the Order, scattered over Christendom, were summoned to come and defend their chief place. On these occasions a numerous nobility and gentry, who were neither engaged, nor even admitted into the Order, were eager to come to its defence. The spirit of the crusades still subsisted, and it was considered as more meritorious to defend the Christian religion, in arms, than to publish and extend it by the voice of persuasion or good example. In fact, Mahomet sent soon thirty galleys, whilst he prepared to come himself and besiege Rhodes with a more considerable force. The first attempts of his fleet were unfortunate. The knights that were assembled rowed out against the Turks, and obliged them to retreat.

J.C. 1455.
Heg. 859.

Other affairs of more importance constrained the sultan to postpone the revenging of this first loss. He learned that pope Calixtus III. was forming a league against him, in which he had included the king of Hungary, the king of Aragon, the duke of Burgundy, the republics of Venice and Genoa, the knights of Rhodes, and several other Italian powers. The pope had likewise sent a legate to Charles VII. king of France;

J.C. 1456.
Heg. 860.

Siege of
Belgrade.

J.C. 1456.
Heg. 860.

France ; but experience and reason had already cured the French of their madness for crusades. The kings of France began to open their eyes, and see how bad it was for their people, to sacrifice so many men and so much money in foreign wars, and to forget the interests of their own nation, in order to be occupied only with those of the popes. Charles VII. was deaf to the repeated solicitations of the pontiff, who with grief saw the decline of that authority, which his predecessors had usurped over all Christendom.

Whilst the preparations for this crusade were advancing rather slowly, Mahomet resolved to attack, without hesitation, those who as yet only menaced him. He marched towards Belgrade at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men: two hundred brigantines were intended to block up the town on the side of the Danube. This strong place is situated on a peninsula, formed by the Danube on the north, and by the river Save on the west. On this large space of water, he formed a chain of brigantines, which blocked up the town. He flattered himself with stopping up, on that side, every passage by which a succour might be introduced, but Hunniade, who had heard at Buda of the expedition of Mahomet, and the means which he was employing to make it succeed, came down the Danube with a hundred and sixty brigantines, better built and mounted, and faster sailers than those
of

of the Turks. The Hungarian vessels were loaded with ammunition and soldiers. Hunniade briskly attacked this chain; the combat was hardly any thing more than a boarding. The Hungarian general killed the Turkish admiral with his own hand; at length the Hungarians having sunk two brigantines, they united all their efforts to that end. The Turkish vessels, the workings of which were neither so quick nor so certain as those of the Hungarians, were presently dispersed. Hunniade took sixteen of them, and arrived in the port of Belgrade, dragging them after him; he did not lose a single vessel. His arrival communicated inexpressible courage to the garrison, townsmen, clergy, and even women; he assured them, that Mahomet would raise the siege, as his father had done; every one contributed to the defence of the place. Whilst the fighting-men sallied out to repel the workmen and fill up the trenches, the townsmen were busy in repairing the breaches and building up the bastions that had been beaten down.

Mahomet, seeing the works repaired as soon as destroyed, fancied that men would vanquish with more certainty than cannon. He multiplied the assaults, and consequently augmented the slaughter. All the ditches were filled with dead bodies, and the janissaries marched to be killed, on the bodies of their expiring companions. The grand vizier, the beglerbeks, the bashaws, the aga of

J.C. 1456.
Heg. 860.

Mahomet
is wounded
& obliged
to raise the
siege.

Hunniade,
who de-
fends Bel-
grade, dies
of his
wounds.

J.C. 1456.
Heg. 860.

the janissaries, in short, all the chiefs, gave the example in these assaults, and all perished in them. Mahomet was no longer surrounded but by subalterns, whose bravery had gained them his favor; he was wounded himself in the thigh in a fall, and fell motionless. It was with difficulty that the janissaries of his guard wrested him from the Hungarians, who were cut in pieces in defending their prey. Hunniade, who had exposed himself as much as the sultan, was wounded in the same engagement. Mahomet's wound would no longer permit him to attend himself to the operations of the siege. The loss of all his generals in whom he had confidence, added to the number of killed and wounded, obliged him to raise it. It is said that he shed tears with rage, on seeing his troops file off, particularly when he turned his eyes on the heaps of dead bodies which he left around the ramparts. Hunniade died of his wounds the same day the siege was raised. The death of this great man was a triumph; he saw, as he expired, his enemies flee before him.

J.C. 1458.
Heg. 862.

Mahomet raises the edifice since called the old seraglio. His generals complete the conquest of the Morea.

The sultan having retired to Constantinople, thought of establishing the seat of his empire there. This great city, from the advantage of its situation, could not fail of being soon re-peopled. Constraint was made use of but a very short time: Mahomet's subjects flocked thither, particularly after he had undertaken a magnificent

cent edifice, which he designed for the residence of the Turkish emperors. At present, this palace, called the old seraglio, is the residence of the widows of the deceased or deposed sultans, and in general of the wives the monarch no longer chooses to retain in the palace in which he resides. Whilst Mahomet's generals were completing the reduction of the Morea, or rather receiving the tribute of the different towns which had expected the troops to come and demand it of them: the sultan, who considered the present war beneath his attention, went to see a new conquest, which his vizier Omar had made for him at a still less expence than that of the Morea.

J.C. 1458.
Heg. 862.

This was the principality of Athens. This celebrated city, though greatly fallen from its ancient splendor, was always considerable by its port and commerce. In the thirteenth century, when the Latins were in possession of the throne of Constantinople, Athens, Megara, Thebes, and Delphos, had formed a petty sovereignty, which, by succession of time and different revolutions, was fallen from the house of Villehardouin, to the house of Acciaioli, a Florentine. Maurice Acciaioli, the last prince of Athens, had, at his death, left an only son, quite an infant, under the care of his wife, and a son of his brother, called Franco. This last mentioned prince, who had no kind of pretension, either to the sceptre

J.C. 1459.
Heg. 864.

The province of Athens united to the Ottoman empire.

HISTORY OF THE OTTOMANS.

J.C. 1459.
Heg. 864.

of Athens, or the guardianship of his cousin, saw with jealousy all the authority in the hands of a woman. The princess regent governed with apparent sagacity; she had the address to make herself respected by her subjects, 'till a noble Venetian, called Palmerio, the son of the podestate of Napoli, was sent by his father to Athens on some commercial treaty. He fell in love with the regent, and found means to gain her affections. An obstacle, apparently insurmountable, opposed their union. Palmerio was already married at Venice; his passion blinded him so far, that he went into his own country in order to get rid of his wife by poison. He returned precipitately to Athens, polluted with a crime, of which he soon received the recompense. The princess regent made herself his accomplice, by giving him her hand and all the authority intrusted to her. This double crime, which had irritated the Athenians, furnished the ambitious Franco with a very favorable pretext for seizing the orphan's inheritance. He easily made himself a party among the people, and obtained still more easily the investiture from Mahomet, who saw with pleasure the distracted state of this province. The culpable regent was arrested, with her son, and conducted to Megara, where, a few months after, the usurper had them both put to death. Palmerio, the princess's husband, having taken refuge in Constantinople, complained

complained bitterly of this outrage. The political Mahomet II. listened to his complaints, and sent his vizier against the murderer of the prince and the regent of Athens. Franco perished in defending his territory, which was united, without much resistance, to the Ottoman throne.

J.C. 1459.
Heg. 864.

The emperor, having passed some time at Athens, returned to his capital, where he was called by affairs of importance. The Greek Christians, who were already returned in great numbers, requested he would give them a patriarch, choosing rather to receive a chief of their Church from the hands of the enemy of Christianity, than from the pope. The Mahometan emperor invested the patriarch, with the ceremony of the pastoral staff and the ring. This custom is preserved at this day among the Greeks.

During the winter, the sultan prepared a considerable armament, with which he intended to make new conquests in Asia, as he had in Europe. These preparations still menaced an usurper. David Comnenus or Comnene was become emperor of Trebizond, having taken both crown and life from its lawful master, of whom he was the uncle, the guardian, and the subject. The city of Trebizond, situated at the eastern extremity of the Black sea, is considerable by a fine port and its commerce; it had served as a retreat

J.C. 1459.
Heg. 864.

treating to the Comnenes in 1204, when those princes were driven from Constantinople. They had saved, from the wreck of their empire, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and some neighbouring territories, and they gave this petty state the vain title of empire of Trebizond, which their family preserved for more than two hundred and fifty years, though diminished by the conquests of the Persian princes. At length the arms of Mahomet destroyed also this remnant of Grecian greatness.*

J.C. 1461.
Heg. 865.

The preparations which he had made to fall on Asia, seemed to threaten Uszum Affan, king of

* A descendant of this illustrious family is still living, and there is not a house in Europe which can boast an origin more elevated. This is Demetrius Comnene, a captain of cavalry in the service of France. He, whose ancestors wore the purple, sat on the throne of the Cæsars, commanded the East, and marched surrounded by a numerous guard, consoles himself for the loss of a sceptre by this motto, which we read around two eagles that form his arms: *Fama manet, fortuna perit*. Of all this greatness, nothing is left him, but the name and honor of his family. Reduced to the state of a private gentleman, he has chosen a new country, and devoted himself to its defence. It is singular to see at the head of a troop, formed of a small number of soldiers, one of the family of *Vespasian*, and the descendant of a house, which counts eighteen emperors: viz. six of Constantinople, ten of Trebizond, and two of Heracleus-pontus; eighteen kings of Colchis, and eight of the nation of Lazi. But grandeurs vanish, titles wear out, empires fall, and thrones become dust: *Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?* Virtue alone remains. Those who wish to see a more particular account of this illustrious family, will find their curiosity satisfied in a small 8vo. of about 180 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1784 under the title of *Précis historique de la Maison Imperiale des Comnènes, où l'on trouve l'origine, les mœurs & les usages des Manjotes, précédé d'une filiation directe & reconnue par lettres-patentes du Roi, du mois d'Avril 1782, depuis David, dernier Empereur de Trebizonde, jusqu'à Démétrius Comnène, actuellement Capitaine de Cavalerie en France.* TRANSLATOR.

of Persia, whose ancestors had already mangled the empire of Trebizond. This prince having sent word to Mahomet, that he ought not to turn his arms against the Mussulmen, as long as there were any Christians to make war with; the Turkish emperor, touched with the reproach, concluded a peace with the Persian monarch, after the latter's promising solemnly, not to succour the emperor of Trebizond. Immediately the troops made long marches towards that capital; and a fleet, which for a long time had been waiting at sea to receive orders where to proceed, entered the port of Trebizond. David Comnene, who had taken from an infant the throne which he possessed, was incapable of defending it against a conqueror. After a siege of thirty days, fearing to be taken by assault, he surrendered his city and all his empire, on the vague promise of a province as an indemnity, and that his daughter should marry the man who had wrested from him his sceptre. The emperor placed garrisons in all the towns, made a solemn entry into the capital, and appointed families to go and repeople Constantinople; after which he dragged Comnene and his sons after him to his new palace at Constantinople, where they found fetters instead of the hoped for sovereignty. A short time after, Mahomet pretended to have discovered a secret intelligence between the unfortunate dethroned emperor and the ministers of

J.C. 1461.
Heg. 865.

Mahomet
seizes the
empire of
Trebizond
and puts
the usurper
to death.

J.C. 1467.
Heg. 865.

of Ufzum Affan. Under this false pretext, he put him to an ignominious death, which he had merited by his injustices: eight of his children were executed after him; and the princess, who was to receive the hand of the sultan, was put among his concubines.

Conquest
of Lesbos.
Cruelties
of Maho-
met.

J.C. 1463.
Heg. 868.

Mahomet, whom we have just seen chastise two perfidious men, was at the same time the most perfidious of mankind himself. The knowledge of this prince extended his empire at least as much as his courage. Since the knights of Rhodes had spread themselves on the borders of the Ottoman empire, this handful of soldiers was more formidable to him, than all the Greeks had been. He thought seriously of invading their island; but, to render his attack more certain, he resolved to commence with the other islands of the Archipelago, from whence the knights might receive succours. The sovereign of Lesbos, called Gattilusio, though a Greek Schismatic, was the ally of the Order; under pretext of this prince's having given retreat to the Rhodian vessels, which desolated the coast, Mahomet landed himself in that island. The grand master had time to throw a considerable body of knights into Metelin, the capital of the isle of Lesbos, before Mahomet could begin the siege. This place was defended by the archbishop, who was a warlike prelate, and a cousin of the sovereign's, who acted as governor. The prince

prince of Lesbos, overcome with a terror which <sup>J.C. 1463.
Heg. 868.</sup> he did not endeavour to conceal, retired to a castle, the most distant from the attack, leaving the defence of his territory to those who might be more valiant than himself. Metelin, being well fortified, made a long resistance. The archbishop and the knights were always at the head of the sallies. At length Mahomet, almost discouraged, tempted the fidelity of Lucius Gattilufio, the prince's cousin who acted as governor. The vizier Machmout promised him, from the emperor, the sovereignty of the island, on condition of his never suffering any knight of Rhodes, or Latin Christian, to enter his ports. This perfidious Greek was dazzled with the lustre of a crown; the emperor's promise, which he saw written and signed with his own hand, left him only the desire of delivering up the city, and the difficulty of putting it in execution. Neither the archbishop nor the knights were to be seduced, consequently it was necessary to deceive them, for the authority of the governor was not such, but that they might have prevented the treason, if they had discovered it. At length Gattilufio seized the favorable opportunity of opening a gate where the janissaries were crowding to enter. All the knights determined to cut their way through on the ramparts, rather than surrender, and every one of them perished in the attempt. During the tumult, Gattilufio went to

Y

the

J.C. 1463.
Heg. 868.

the sovereign, who was but too easy to be intimidated; he assured him all was lost, and that there was hardly time to make a treaty. The cowardly prince left every thing to his perfidious cousin. Lucius delivered up the island, under the apparent condition, of the emperor's giving another sovereignty to the dethroned prince, and both went to Constantinople to await the execution of Mahomet's promises. As soon as the emperor was returned to his capital, he gave the two Gattilufios the choice, of abjuring the Christian religion, or death: one may well suppose, that these two cowards had no ambition for the crown of martyrdom; both submitted to this apostacy, with the hopes of saving their lives, which the sultan had no intention to leave them. A few days after, Mahomet had them arrested on a frivolous pretext, because, he said, they had endeavoured to go out of Constantinople without his permission; he caused them both to be strangled. He treated still more cruelly those Christians who had armed and defended Metelin. They had surrendered to the vizier, under the promise of life: spite of this promise so solemnly given, the sultan had these unfortunate persons sawn asunder between two planks.

Illness of
Mahomet.

Mahomet was stopped in the course of his conquests by a severe fit of illness, which threatened his life. His impatience increased his disorder

disorder to such a degree, that two Jewish physicians, not having been able to procure him a recovery as soon as they had promised, were empowered by his orders. A Turkish historian says, that, in the delirium of a violent fever, he talked of nothing but the isle of Rhodes, and that he disposed the operations of the siege, calling aloud on the janissaries. Though he never forgot this project, it was not the first that he executed after his recovery. Caraman Ogli was lately dead: his children, not being able to agree about the division of their paternal inheritance, implored the mediation of Mahomet, who shewed, on this occasion, how dangerous it is for petty sovereigns to call in powerful kings to decide their quarrels. The sultan at first seemed to protect the eldest of Caraman's sons, when all of a sudden, manifesting his real designs, he declared, that Caramania had always been a part of the eastern empire, and that he should re-enter the inheritance, wrested from Bajazet I. by the arms of Tamerlane; that the troubles, excited in Asia by the different sovereigns of this province, shewed, how perilous it was to leave it under an independent master; and that, in fine, the interest of his state required the re-union of it to the throne of Constantinople. Caraman's sons complained of the injustice; but Mahomet's arms supported his reasons. He indemnified himself, by the facility of this conquest, for the disadvantages

J.C. 1463.
Heg. 868.

J.C. 1464.
Heg. 869.

He seizes
the Caramania.

J.C. 1464. which the valour and obstinacy of Scanderbeg
 Heg. 869. caused him in Albania. He had the different
 places repaired in Caramania, and repeopled
 that province, which the restless disposition of
 several of its sovereigns had drained of men and
 rendered barren.

Scanderbeg's efforts, as we have already seen,
 employed the sultán for several years. The pro-
 vince of Albania, poor and desolated, imprac-
 ticable on account of its defilés, defended by a
 hero, and by soldiers considered almost as in-
 vulnerable, humbled every year the pride of Ma-
 homet, and offered no kind of food to his avidity.

Death of
 Scander-
 beg.

J.C. 1467. But he determined at length to get rid of this
 Heg. 871. great general. Convinced of the impossibility
 of vanquishing him, he endeavoured to have him
 assassinated. This perfidy was discovered, and
 the assassins received the punishment that they
 merited. The invincible prince survived this
 discovery but a short time. Being at Lissa, a
 town that belonged to the Venetians, in order
 to confer with them about a league, of which his
 successes pointed him out for commander, he was
 attacked with a severe illness which carried off
 this great man in a few days, the 17th of January
 1467, leaving one son, as yet an infant, whose
 interests he intrusted to the Venetians. Though
 Scanderbeg is one of the greatest warriors men-
 tioned in history, his valour was not so fatal to
 the Ottoman empire as might have been expected.

Mahomet

Mahomet next turned his arms against the isle of Negropont, formerly called Euboe, which belonged to the Venetians. This island faces Attica and Beotia, from which it is separated, only by a strait. It is a hundred and fifty miles long, forty in its greatest breadth, and twenty in its least. Its circuit is three hundred and sixty-five miles. A bridge, constructed with great boldness, joins this island to Beotia, in the narrowest part of the strait. The capital town, formerly called Calcis, is now called Negropont. This place was well fortified; they counted at that time twenty-four thousand men there capable of bearing arms, the garrison and townsmen included. The sultan arrived on the banks of the strait at the head of a hundred and forty thousand fighting men. A fleet of a hundred sail, which turned continually around the island, was commanded by the vizier Machmout. Mahomet entered the island with half his army, leaving the other half encamped by the water's side at the extremity of the bridge, to relieve the besiegers. The Venetians had likewise a fleet under the orders of the noble Canalé, to which were joined the galleys of Rhodes, of which commander Cardone was the chief. This fleet, less numerous than that of the Turks, was composed of swift sailing vessels, and had cannon on board. Commander Cardone proposed to Canalé to break down the bridge which joined the island to Beotia.

J.C. 1469.
Heg. 874.

Siege of
Negropont

The

J.C. 1469.
Heg. 874.

The Turkish fleet could not prevent them ; but Canale having seen on the deck of his ship his only son, a young lad, receive an arrow in his clothes, his paternal love took from him his courage ; under vain pretences he withdrew his fleet, and thus deprived the besieged of all the succours that he should otherwise have given them.

Mahomet
puts the
governor
to death,
contrary to
his pro-
mise, and
kills his
daughter,
who resist-
ed his de-
sires.

This weakness decided the fate of Negropont, though the proveditor Arretzo, who commanded in the place, defended it with much courage and ability. A garrison, which diminished every day, and was reduced likewise to the last extremity, could not resist a powerful army, which unceasingly furnished fresh troops. It was necessary to yield to famine and number. Arretzo capitulated, demanding life for himself and his soldiers : Mahomet answered for the heads of the Venetians by his own ; but he had no sooner entered Negropont, than he had the brave Arretzo and his principal officers sawn through the middle of the body, saying, that he had guaranteed their heads, but not their flanks. The unfortunate proveditor desired, when he died, to have his only daughter put to death, whose innocence and beauty were too much exposed among these barbarians. He was answered, that his daughter was reserved for the emperor's seraglio. In fact, she was dragged before the murderer of her father. This unfortunate fair one let him see all the horror with which he inspired

spired her. She loaded him with the most bloody reproaches, and, strongly resisting his criminal attempts, chose rather to die under his hands, than yield to his desires.*

J.C. 1469.
Heg. 874.

The island was filled with carnage and horror. The Turkish soldiers, after the example and under the eyes of their emperor, resigned themselves to all the transports of avidity and debauchery: to the Latin Christians especially they gave no quarter. Mahomet, who had seen the galleys of the Order of St. John in the Venetian fleet, swore he would kill the grand master with his own hand, and exterminate all the knights who should fall into his power; but the time was not yet arrived for it: a diversion obliged the sultan to convey all his forces to Asia.

Another conqueror was sprung up in Persia, and had subjugated the grandsons of Tamerlane, inheritors of his throne, but not of his talents for war. Uszum Affan or the Long, so called on account of his height, was become sovereign of all Persia, after having vanquished four monarchs who had divided it: he conceived a jealousy of Mahomet's having made himself master of Caramania almost without striking a blow. Uszum Affan was a Mussulman of the sect of Ali, a sufficient pretext to cover his enterprises against

J.C. 1470.
Heg. 875.

Uszum
Affan de-
clares war
against
Mahomet,
who
marches a-
gainst him
and beats
him near
Caifar

* This fact, which the continuator of Calcondilus reports from the notes of that historian, has given place perhaps to the story of Irene, which no ancient historian has ever spoken of.

J.C. 1470.
Heg. 875.

against the Mussulmen of the sect of Omar, whom we call Sunnites. He sent ambassadors to the knights of Rhodes, and the republic of Venice, to ask succours against their common enemy, and particularly fire arms and workmen to cast cannon in Persia; for the Persians, as yet, knew the use of this murdering machine, only by the mischief that it had done them.

The Christians eagerly received these new allies, who might be useful to them. They shewed them European forces; they loaded several ships with fire arms, and sent to Persia all the workmen that they could spare. Ufzum Affan had marched troops towards Caramania. The young prince Mustapha, son of Mahomet, who commanded in that province, attacked the Persians to advantage, and put them to flight. On the news of this victory, Mahomet left Zizim, his youngest son, at Constantinople, with a council to govern the state, and to continue some edifices which he had begun there; and, marching with his second son Bajazet, he went and joined his eldest in Caramania. This campaign was toilsome for the Turks, like all those which they have made against the Persians: prince Mustapha acquired glory under the eyes of his father, who, after having gained two very bloody battles, through the talents and valour of his son, brought back one part of his army to Constantinople, leaving the other under the command

mand of Jiesik Achmet or Acomat, who, during the rest of the campaign, reduced the province of Varfak to the Ottoman empire. J.C. 1470.
Heg. 875.

Prince Mustapha would fain have had his father leave him the government of Caramania. The glory with which he had just arrayed himself, seemed to demand a continuance of that authority, which had been confided to him before he was the vanquisher of the Persians; but Mahomet, as jealous as cruel, had taken umbrage at the success of his son, and the acclamations with which the camp had resounded after his victories. He obliged the young prince to return with him to Constantinople, and soon punished him for the affection which the people and soldiers shewed him. Whilst Jiesik Achmet still commanded the army against the Persians; his wives, according to the custom of the country, were guarded in his haram with great care. They went out only to the mosques and public baths; for private baths, at that time, were not so common in the houses of the grandees, as they have been since: A long veil hid them to such a degree, that they could hardly see the light. Such was and such is still the custom of all the Turkish women. One of Jiesik Achmet's wives having met prince Mustapha, as she was entering a bath, let fall her veil, either through inadvertency or design, and discovered to the young sultan an enchanting person,

Mahomet, on his return to Constantinople, has his son Mustapha strangled.

Z

which,

J.C. 1470.
Heg. 875.

which, by the laws of Mahomet, the women are forbidden to shew to any other man than their father or husband. Mustapha, inflamed with a sudden passion, followed this beauty, forced the baths, the entrance of which is interdicted to all men without distinction, and laid hold of her who had made such an impression on his heart. The vizier returned soon after from the army; the news which he learned on his arrival drove him to despair. He ran to the feet of the emperor, to complain of the rape committed on his wife, and of the injury that he had received from prince Mustapha. Thou and thy wife, are you not my slaves, replied Mahomet, with a barbarous fierceness, are you not too happy to contribute to the satisfaction of my children! The unfortunate vizier retired broken hearted. But the sultan, who had intended to humble his minister, was not less severe for it towards his son. He immediately sent for Mustapha, whom he sharply reprimanded and terribly menaced. Having learned afterwards, that the prince had made great complaints of this treatment, the implacable Mahomet declared him a rebel, and had him strangled three days after the interview.

J.C. 1473.
Heg. 878.

The sultan, after this cruel execution, passed several years in his capital, which he ornamented with new edifices. He had already caused a port to be digged for the galleys. He constructed

structed a seraglio more spacious and magnificent than the first. Whilst the emperor was taken up with these peaceable works, his vizier enlarged the borders of the empire. He took from the Tartars of Crimea, Caffa, the strongest place of that sovereignty; he protected Nungiligiari, one of the two princes who disputed that throne, and established him solidly thereon. His posterity still reign throughout the Crimea,* subject to a tribute and to the high sovereignty of the Ottoman empire. The sovereign of this country styles himself of the Ottoman race. He is called khan of Crimea, or khan of the Tartars. The emperor of the Turks deposes him at his pleasure, but he always chooses his successor from the same race; and it is the opinion of all the Turks, that the family of the khan of the Tartars would succeed to the throne of Constantinople, if the Ottoman race should fail in males.

J.C. 1473.
 Heg. 878.

Mahomet
 takes Caf-
 fa, esta-
 blishes the
 khan of the
 Tartars on
 his throne,
 and con-
 cludes a
 peace with
 Venice.

After the expedition to Crimea, Mahomet entered Albania at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men; his army put the whole country to fire and sword. The siege of Scutari was pushed with the greatest vigour. The Venetians, who defended it as guardians of the son of Scanderbeg, surrendered it only at the conclusion of peace. The isle of Lemnos, and the sum of a hundred thousand ducats, which they agreed to

J.C. 1478.
 Heg. 883.

Z 2

pay

* The Crimea was ceded to Russia in 1784, by the Turks. T:

J.C. 1478.
Heg. 883.

pay the Turks, procured the Venetians the liberty of trading on the Pont Euxine and in all the sultan's dominions. Mahomet consented to this peace the more readily, as he was always thinking of the conquest of Rhodes. He silently prepared for that expedition, and covered it even with a falsity. On the occasion of the peace with Venice, he sent a chiau to propose a lasting peace to the council of the Order of St. John.

J.C. 1480.
Heg. 885.

The grand master, Aubuffon, as sage as courageous, had his eyes open on all the Turk's proceedings. Some spies, dearly paid, informed him of every thing that passed in the divan, and he knew the designs of the Turkish monarch, as well as those who had his confidence. However, he feigned to listen to Mahomet's proposals; he consented even to a truce of three months, under the specious pretext of settling the conditions of peace; but, in reality, in order to have the sea open during that time, that the convoked knights might land in safety in the island. They presently arrived from all parts of Christendom, bringing with them a numerous and brilliant nobility whom the love of glory drew to Rhodes. Aubuffon, viscount Monteil, the brother of the grand master, was of the number. This grand master had just been invested with the sovereign authority, which belongs to all the Order of St. John, of which he is only the chief and the representative.

representative. This sort of dictatorship, as J.C. 1480.
Heg. 885. Vertor calls it, was at that time necessary, on account of the concert and celerity with which it was requisite that every thing should be transacted in such delicate circumstances. The knights unanimously solicited Aubuffon, to confer the command of the troops, after himself, on viscount Monteil his brother.

On the news, which soon spread, that the Turks were ready to put to sea, the grand master ordered all the environs of Rhodes to be laid waste, the pleasure houses and farms to be demolished, the vineyards to be burnt, the granaries to be emptied, and all the fruit trees to be cut down, in order that the Turks, on their debarking, might find neither retreat, nor lodging, nor subsistence. Meanwhile they advanced under the command of the bashaw Mischa Paleologus, a Greek renegade, of the family of the last emperors of Constantinople. The love of riches and dignities had made him turn Mahometan; he had shewn, before Mahomet, the most inveterate hatred against those of his ancient religion, and had solicited the honor of commanding at the siege of Rhodes. The sultan, who began to love repose, had put in his place this apostate, supposing him a greater enemy of the Christians than any of his subjects. The armament intended against Rhodes consisted of a hundred and sixty high built vessels (without counting the galliots,

J.C. 1480.
Heg. 885. galliots, shallops, and transport boats), and 2 hundred thousand land forces.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886. All these troops did not proceed at the same time towards the menaced island. The bashaw Paleologus was as impatient as Mahomet to begin the operations. In the middle of the winter, he conducted some vessels loaded with janissaries, to attempt a descent on the coast of Rhodes, whilst the main body of the fleet and army was to go and attend the chief in the port of Phisco in Lycia. This first enterprise was unsuccessful. Those, who advanced into the country, found only parties of soldiers, instead of the booty which they had expected. They were not more fortunate in the small isle of Tilo, which belonged also to the knights; they found it equally well guarded and desolated. After having lost a month, and fifteen hundred men, in the descent, they regained the port of Phisco. The bashaw, taught by misfortune, waited for a more favorable season. He did not arrive before Rhodes at the head of his whole army, 'till the 23d of May.

Siege of
Rhodes.

The capital of the island, which bears its name, is situated by the sea side, on the declivity of a small hill, which, at that time, was covered with orange trees, pomegranates, and all sorts of vineyards. This place was surrounded by a double wall, and fortified at equal distances with large towers. A rampart supported these walls and towers,

towers, and they were defended by a large deep ditch. Rhodes had two ports, one of which served for the galleys; a tower, named fort St. Helme, defended it. The large vessels occupied the other port, on each side of which there are two small gulfs, the one on the north, the other on the south. That on the north was secured by a mole advanced into the sea, on which was constructed a fortress, called fort St. Nicholas, which will be often mentioned in the account of this siege. The other gulf, exposed to the south, was defended by a fortress less considerable than fort St. Nicholas. Two miles from the town is a little hill, called mount St. Stephen.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

Situation
of the
town.

Such was the situation of Rhodes, when the bashaw Mischa Paleologus attempted its conquest. The valour of the knights did not hinder the debarking of this numerous army. The vessels approached the places least fortified, notwithstanding the resistance, and without, for this time, much blood shed. The Ottoman army marched in tolerable good order to take possession of mount St. Stephen, from whence the bashaw summoned the grand master, who did not condescend to make him a reply. Paleologus began the siege with the attack of fort St. Nicholas, both by land and sea, hoping if he could get possession of that post, to be soon master of the grand port. A formidable artillery was made use of both in the attack and defence. The walls

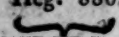
Attack of
fort Saint
Nicholas.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

walls were presently injured. Viscount Monteil and the grand master himself, seeing all the importance of this post, had shut themselves up in it with several volunteers. The Turks soon attempted to storm the fort; the galleys and light vessels advanced in the night as far as the mole; and the janissaries landed with loud acclamations, without being intimidated by the fire from the batteries, which played all at the same time. They presented themselves, ladder in hand, to the escalade. It was first necessary to clamber up an enormous heap of stones that the cannon had beaten down. They mounted, sword in hand. The grand master himself defended the breach, at the head of his knights. He overturned their ladders, threw down quantities of boiling oil, and rolled enormous stones on the assailants. The Turks darted hooks towards the breach, fastened to cords which they held, in order to catch the arms or clothes of the knights, and pull them to the ground. Aubusson, intent on his post, fought as the youngest of his officers. His helmet was carried away by a sharp piece of stone, without doing him any mischief. He took a soldier's hat, and remained on the breach, 'till the terrible fire from the besieged at length lessened the ardour of the janissaries. They retreated to their vessels, leaving a number of dead behind. But the bashaw was not discouraged by this bad success.

success. He directed at the same time two at- J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.
tacks, the one on the quarter of the Jews, the other opposite. Though the wall on the side of the Jews was very thick, yet being old, it was soon perceived to shake. The grand master, who was every where, knew the weakness of the place on that side; he had several houses pulled down, a large ditch digged, and a brick wall raised behind it. Every person was a mason, labourer, or pioneer. Aubuffon gave the example. The women, both Christians and Jewesses, terrified with the destiny which menaced them in case the place should be taken, forgot their weakness, and carried heavy burdens which no one could have supposed them capable even of moving. Meanwhile, the Infidels' artillery continually battered the wall: the Turks had mortars that carried enormous masses, which, piercing the roofs of the houses, penetrated from story to story, and killed, or overturned every thing that fell in their way. The grand master, in order to place in safety the children, sick, and women, caused to be constructed, in the part of the town farthest from the batteries, sheds formed of beams so thick and close together, that they were impenetrable by the heaviest masses. He replied to the enemy with a machine which threw pieces of rock to a considerable distance, and crushed in pieces the besiegers. The knights called this destructive

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.



The bashaw endeavours to have the grand master poisoned.

piece of ordnance, *the tribute*, in derision of the annual tribute which Mahomet had demanded from the Order. When the wall of the Jews' quarter was half beaten down, the bashaw expected to carry it easily by assault; but he learned, with surprise, that another ditch and wall defended the town on that side. Paleologus, despairing of vanquishing Aubusson, resolved to have him poisoned. For the execution of this crime, he cast his eyes on two deserters, renegades like himself, one of which was an Albanian, and the other a Dalmatian. These two traitors presented themselves before the gates of Rhodes, feigning to have been taken and to have escaped the slavery of the Turks. The knights received them without suspicion. They soon introduced themselves into the house of the grand master. One of them corrupted an officer of the kitchen presently; the other having found access to Aubusson's secretary, heard him one day complain bitterly of his master. The perfidious wretch thought the occasion favorable; he informed this malecontent, both of his mission and the opportunity which he had found to put it in execution. The secretary, struck with horror, discovered the plot; the wretch was put to the torture; overcome by the excess of pain, he named his two accomplices. All three were torn in pieces by the people, before there was time for their being regularly executed.

The

The bashaw, ashamed of having seen this infamous design published and rendered abortive, returned to open force. He resumed the project of taking the tower of St. Nicholas. This fort was separated from the Turkish camp by a small canal. Paleologus had a bridge of boats constructed; but the difficulty was to place it, and to make the extremity of it touch the point of the mole. A Turk swam to the place with an anchor, which he firmly fastened to the foot of a rock covered with sea-water; he put a large cable through the ring of this anchor, one end of which was fastened to the end of the bridge, and which, by means of a capstan, was to conduct it to its destination. A sailor saw by chance all the Turk's work, without being perceived; he plunged into the sea in his turn, untied the cable, which he left on the bank, and tore up the anchor, which he carried to the grand master, from whom he received a recompense proportionable to the service that he had just rendered. The Turks knew presently that their design was discovered, by the facility with which the cable returned to them, without giving any movement to the bridge. During a very dark night, instead of the cable and capstan, the bashaw had the bridge towed by a great number of barks, and fixed at the point of the mole. The troops then proceeded towards the fort, not only over the bridge, but in the barks, which, by favor

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

The Turks
make new
efforts, but
are always
repulsed
by the
knights.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

of the night, approached the land. Aubuffon ordered his cannon to be directed towards the place where the noise pointed out their arrival, which presently made such destruction among them, that the Turks chose rather to begin the attack in the dark, than remain a longer time exposed to a fire which they could not return. The only light they received was from the grenades and flash of the small arms. The bridge and barks continually furnished fresh troops. Some Turks got to the top of the wall, where they were all massacred. The engagement was equally as furious by sea: the grand master's fireships kept close to the Turkish galleys, which were come to batter the fort, and set some of them on fire. Nothing was comparable to the horrors of this night; the cries of those who beheld the fire approaching them, the groans of the wounded, the vortices of flames and smoke, the noise of the artillery, every thing rendered the combatants furious: they touched nothing but dead bodies and arms. At length the day came to give light to this carnage; the breaches and the sea were covered with bodies half burnt, arrows, darts, turbans, and the wreck of the galleys still fuming. As soon as the gunners could perceive the bridge covered with soldiers, they directed their batteries thither, and succeeded in breaking it down. Every person on it was drowned. The courage of the Turks then

then failed them; those, who were on the mole, got into what barks they could find. Some were drowned, a few saved themselves by swimming, and the rest were cut in pieces by a sally. After so much blood spilt to no purpose, the Turks remained some days in silence and inaction. Aubusson took advantage of this precious time to repair the breaches, and encourage the townsmen, to whom he was unceasingly repeating, that their happy country should never be a prey to these barbarians. At length the bashaw recommenced the attack on the quarter of the Jews, and on several others at the same time, hoping to divide the forces of the besieged, and then come upon them by surprise. He let loose all his artillery against these walls which had been just rebuilt, and, by means of labourers, he succeeded in filling up some parts of the ditches. After a continual fire of four days, the breaches were again laid open. The grand master, rendered more confident by necessity, employed a German engineer, who, at the commencement of the siege, had entered the town as a deserter, but whom he had always suspected. The perfidy of this man was presently discovered; for, no sooner was the command at the batteries entrusted to him, than he made several signals which he had agreed on with the enemy, and, in one day, drew two assaults on the weakest parts of the place. The bravery of the knights covered

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

covered the breaches; the Turks were repulsed; and the traitor was given to the executioner, after having acknowledged, in the horrors of the torture, that his only design in entering Rhodes was, to deliver it to the Turks.

Proposals
made by
the Turks
for an ac-
commoda-
tion, rejec-
ted by the
knights.

The bashaw lost both time and men. The infinity of resources which the sagacity of the grand master and the valour of the knights furnished them with, but too much convinced the Turk that he was not at the end of the siege. He thought it best to have recourse to negotiation. The lieutenants of the bashaw were ordered to propose an honorable capitulation. Forgetting for the moment the Ottoman haughtiness, they made use of flattery, telling these brave knights, that so many prodigies, which covered them with glory, would not secure their town from the fate, which the number of their enemies, and the state of their walls, ought to demonstrate to them. This capitulation depended entirely on the grand master, because, as we have said, the knights had conferred on him the absolute sovereignty during the siege. Notwithstanding this consideration, several members of the council, seeing their town open on all sides, were fearful of spilling still more blood, and not being able to save it after all. They were strongly inclined to accept an honorable capitulation, though Aubuffon was responsible to them for the event. They solicited him to listen

to the terms proposed; and as they supported J.C. 1481
Heg. 886. their advice with that heat which fear inspires, they had already communicated it to a great number of the besieged. They began even to blame aloud the grand master, and spoke to him of surrendering with an indecent liberty. Aubuffon, irritated at so much weakness and mutiny, exclaimed: "Gentlemen, if there be any one
" among you, who does not think himself safe
" in this place, the gate is not so closely blocked
" up, but I can let him out." The shame which they felt having caused a general silence to be kept, he continued: "If you will remain with
" us, trust to me. I declare, that I will have
" the first person beheaded, who shall mention
" an accommodation." These thundering words recalled, in the feeblest hearts, that courage which all had shewn at first, but which had grown cool in the breasts of some.

The bashaw, enraged to think he had flattered the pride of his enemies to no purpose, swore he would have them all put to the sword; he even ordered a quantity of stakes to be sharpened and planted around the ramparts, to empale, as he said, the grand master and principal knights. He promised the pillage to the soldiers, and recommenced the attacks with more fury than ever. Their greatest efforts were always turned towards the quarter of the Jews; the artillery had so battered this side, that the walls were no
longer

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

longer any thing but a heap of stones, the ditch was filled up, and the ramparts did not appear difficult to climb; but the knights had formed another intrenchment behind that which was shattered, without neglecting, on that account, the defence of the rampart. A bloody combat was fought on this bastion, of which the Turks fancied they could easily render themselves masters. The houses and streets were lower than this fortification, to ascend to which there were two pair of steps, which, at that time, were broken and covered with rubbish. The grand master and his knights could not get there but by the assistance of ladders, and saw themselves constrained in their turn to mount to the assault, in order to attack those, who had assailed them for so long a time. The Turks had believed the town taken, as soon as they were gotten on the ramparts. This new species of defence astonished them; the knights precipitated them in great numbers from the other side of the bastion on those heaps of stones which had served them as ladders, and which rendered their fall more fatal. The janissaries made useless efforts to seize the person of Aubusson, who, though twice wounded, would never quit the battle.

The siege
raised.

The blood of the grand master, which ran down his armour, animated the knights and soldiers to such a degree, that, in a little time, all the Turks were thrown down or put to flight.

In

In vain did the bashaw endeavour to bring back his troops to the place which they had abandoned; his efforts only gave the Rhodians an occasion to shed more blood. The Turks, being pursued, killed one another in the hurry of their flight. They threw the alarm into the camp, and communicated their fright to the rest of the army. At length, after a siege of three months and the spilling of much blood, the bashaw, Paleologus, lost both hope and courage; he got on board his vessels again the 17th of August, and shamefully brought back the broken remains of his fleet and army to Constantinople, meditating only to persuade Mahomet, that the isle of Rhodes was impregnable.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

The emperor saw with the greatest chagrin his hopes deceived. He, who had so badly served a prince absolute and cruel, accustomed to make every one bend before him, and to punish with death the smallest faults, was too happy to preserve his life with the loss of his place and liberty. The command of the army, the dignity even of bashaw, were taken from Paleologus, and he was banished to Gallipoli. Mahomet seemed to console himself for the misfortune of his arms, by publicly saying, that they were invincible, only when he commanded them himself. And indeed he made new efforts to restore them the glory which Paleologus had lost. In the autumn he levied two numerous armies,

Mahomet
dissembles
his cha-
grin.

Death of
Mahomet.

J.C. 1481.
Heg. 836.

resolved to place himself at the head of the first against the king of Persia, and to send the second into Europe, under the command of a vizier. These preparations were made with the greatest promptitude. The sultan had already passed the Bosphorus, and having pitched his camp near the city of Nice, he was meditating to penetrate into Persia, when death surprised him in the midst of the great projects which he was unceasingly forming. Mahomet lived fifty-one years, of which he reigned thirty, and three months. This prince, one of the most perfidious and sanguinary that history has ever handed down to posterity, was born with great talents for war; he would have had the same for government, if his passions had not destroyed every thing that reason, the interest of his people, and his own, could have inspired him with. Mahomet, one of the founders of the Ottoman empire, is perhaps the prince who has made the most important conquests. Constantinople owes some edifices to him. All his dominions reproach him with their depopulation, which his successors have not repaired. Debauchery and the spirit of revenge stifled in his heart all the seeds of equity. The glory of his conquests covered his vices in the eyes of his subjects: the Turkish historians say, he was the greatest of emperors; but those, who know that there is no true greatness without justice, count Mahomet

homet only among the most terrible scourges of the human race. J.C. 1481.
Heg. 886.

B A J A Z E T II.

EIGHTH REIGN.

MAHOMET, when he died, left two sons, Bajazet and Zizim, both such enemies of each other, that their father had thought it requisite to separate them, to prevent the effects of their hatred. Bajazet resided at Amasia, towards the extremity of Cappadocia; Zizim dwelt at Magnesia, a town of Caria. Bajazet was the eldest; Mahomet had intended him for his successor. As soon as the emperor was dead, the grand vizier Achmet or Acomar, faithful to the law, and especially to the will of his master, dispatched a messenger to prince Bajazet, whom he esteemed but little, for him to come and take possession of the throne. Though this superstitious Bajazet had a rival in his brother, he chose rather to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, than come to Constantinople, to occupy the throne which belonged to him, and gain the favor of the people and soldiers. He wrote to the divan, that he was obliged to accomplish a vow, and that Korcut, his son, as yet a child, should reign in his name all the time that he, J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

Korcut,
the son of
Bajazet,
occupies
the throne
in the
name of his
father.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

the lawful emperor, should be absent from Constantinople. This project flattered, without doubt, the ambition of the viziers, who became masters during this sort of regency. Korkut mounted the throne, and the viziers governed, in the name of a child, the nine months that Bajazet's pilgrimage lasted.

Zizim levies an army, and is defeated by the grand vizier. He flees to the foudan of Egypt.

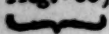
Zizim took advantage of this favorable occasion: he seized on Bursa and Bithynia, the ancient patrimony of the Ottoman princes; he wanted to be thought the lawful emperor of the Turks, because Mahomet II. was emperor when Zizim was born, whereas, Bajazet was born before his father ascended the throne. This reason had no weight with the members of the divan. Whilst Bajazet was scrupulously employed at Mecca in all the exercises of his religion, the vizier Acomat was meditating to repress the rival of his master. He passed into Asia with the choice of the janissaries and spahis, and marched against Zizim, determined to lay siege to Bursa, in case he should be so bold as to wait for him there. This prince, who had already raised an army, was resolved not to remain shut up within walls. Though his troops were new and badly disciplined, he went some days march against Acomat, and had the temerity to offer battle to an experienced general, who commanded old soldiers. The conduct and valour of the vizier almost entirely destroyed the rising fortune of Zizim;

his

his army was put to flight, and it was impossible to rally it. The prince, having with difficulty escaped the carnage, deliberated, with some of his partisans who had likewise saved themselves, to what foreign prince he should go with his pretensions and hatred. There were three that seemed likely to receive him according to his wishes: the sultan of Egypt, Caraman Oğlu from whom Mahomet II. had taken almost all his estates, and who no longer reigned but in a corner of Cilicia, and the knights of Rhodes who had so valiantly withstood the arms of the last emperor. Zizim chose the most powerful of the three: at the head of only forty horse, he traversed Syria, penetrated into Palestine, and visited at Jerusalem the mosque called the temple of Solomon; then crossing the deserts of Arabia, he arrived at Grand Cairo. Caitbei, the sultan of Egypt, received Zizim with the respect due to misfortune; but not judging it prudent to enter into an alliance with a prince, who had nothing in the world but unjust pretensions, he solely offered to employ his good offices for him with his brother.

Bajazet II. on his return from Mecca, found his throne secured by the defeat of Zizim. His son, who had been but a phantom of a sovereign, made no difficulty to give up his authority. He went as far as Nice to meet Bajazet, and having ordered the mimbar to be raised, which is a kind of

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 837.



He goes to
Caraman
Ogli to
seek suc-
cours.

of throne among the Orientals, he placed Bajazet on it, and proclaimed him emperor, after which he retired to Magnesia with a considerable pension and the authority of bashaw. On the sultan's arrival at Constantinople, he found ambassadors from the soudan of Egypt there, who were come to settle a peace between his brother and him. This negociation was without any success, as Caitbei endeavoured to acquit himself of a duty of humanity to Zizim, rather than procure him a throne which did not belong to him. Bajazet's brother, displeased with the soudan of Egypt, went to seek the alliance of a prince less powerful, but more enterprising than Caitbei. This was Caraman Ogli, who, as we have said, had only a small part of Cilicia left. Zizim engaged to restore him all the estates which Mahomet II. had wrested from his father, if, by his means, he became emperor of the Turks. The ambitious Caraman entered into a league with several petty Mahometan princes; with these succours, which seemed more like a troop of conspirators, than an army, he had the temerity to enter Cappadocia, having by his side the pretended successor of Mahomet, whom he announced as the repairer of all the mischiefs which his father had done. At these news, Acomat sent across the Bosphorus of Thrace all the troops that were not wanted in Europe. The emperor quitted the pleasures of his court. As he was reviewing his

his army, before it penetrated into Asia, he observed that the grand vizier, who was at the head of the spahis, had his sword fastened to the pommel of his saddle; on which Bajazet said to him, "Milada,* thou bearest things in mind; forget the faults of my youth, replace thy sword by thy side, and make use of it with thy usual valour against my enemies." For the information of the reader respecting this fact, it should be observed, that Mahomet II. being at war in Asia, brought with him his son Bajazet, as yet very young, in order to instruct him in military exercises. One day of battle, Mahomet sent the vizier Acomat to examine in what order the young prince had placed the troops under his command. Acomat, displeased with what he saw, said to Bajazet, with a severe tone: "Is it thus that a prince, who wishes to vanquish, should range his soldiers?" The pride of the Ottoman blood being offended with this reprimand, the young prince threatened Acomat, that he would make him repent one day of his too great liberty. "What wilt thou do to me?" replied the old warrior in a rage. "I swear by the soul of my father, that if thou come to the throne, I will never draw my sword in thy service." The Mahometan sovereigns, like
all

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

Efforts of
Bajazet a-
gainst his
brother.
The em-
peror flat-
ters his
vizier, in
order to
make him
forget a
former in-
jury.

* This word, in the Turkish language, signifies *defender* or *protector*. The emperors, to flatter their viziers when they are older than themselves, often give them this title.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

all others, know how to caress their subjects when it is necessary. Bajazet, who was but an indifferent warrior, forgot nothing to attach to him this vizier, whose talents he stood so much in need of. They marched together against Zizim and Caraman, and had no difficulty to disperse an army so much weaker and so inferior in discipline. After a great slaughter, which happened at the foot of mount Taurus, the two vanquished princes separated from each other, the better to hide their flight. Acomat en-

The Turks
put the
army of
Caraman
& Zizim
to flight.

deavoured to pen them up in the defilés; he divided his soldiers into parties, in order to try to surprise Caraman, and particularly Zizim. Bajazet, tired of a war which fatigued his effe-

Zizim re-
fuses a
province,
which his
brother of-
fers him;
and when
overcome
by his mis-
fortunes,
he is wil-
ling to ac-
cept of it,
the empe-
ror, in his
turn, refu-
ses to grant
it.

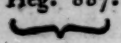
minacy, offered his brother a province in sovereignty, with a considerable pension. "I will have an empire, and not money," replied Zizim haughtily. However, no one endeavoured to restore him this empire which he fancied belonged to him. The soudan of Egypt he no longer relied upon; and as to Caraman, his ally, he had lost the little which remained of his estates, and saw himself reduced, like the prince whom he had protected, to hide from the search of the Turks. The deepest caves were the lurking holes of these two fugitives, of him especially, who aimed at becoming one of the most powerful potentates in the world. Some trembling servants, who could not resolve to abandon

don Zizim, composed at the same time his court, <sup>J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.</sup> his guard, and his army. In this extremity he resolved on asking in his turn for the province and pension which Bajazet had offered him; but that which the sultan would have granted voluntarily to his rival at the head of a party, he unmercifully refused to an unfortunate prince, without friends, without money, and without troops. Zizim's only remaining resource was in the knights of Rhodes.

He dispatched one of his most zealous confidants to the grand master Aubuffon, to request of him an asylum. This man was arrested by the emissaries of the Turkish emperor, as he was going to embark. Bajazet II. having seen, by the letters of his brother, that he thought of retiring among the Christians, had the coast more strictly guarded, and the most secret retreats searched. Zizim soon learned the fate of his envoy; he dispatched two others at different times and by different ways, in hopes that one of them at least might escape the search, and bring him back the testimonies of protection which he expected. Both were more fortunate than the first had been; they remitted their dispatches to the grand master and council assembled. These generous knights saw, with pleasure, a Mahometan prince solicit succours of them, against his brother and country; they promised themselves great things from this division in the

Zizim, deprived of every resource, asks a retreat of the knights of Rhodes.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

 Ottoman family, and, without loss of time, equipped a fleet to go in search of Zizim in the place which he had pointed out to them.

This prince was gotten near the sea; the parties, spread along the coast and over the country, made him anxiously wish for an answer from the knights of Rhodes, and the escort which he had solicited of them. At last he was discovered by a troop of cavalry, and pursued so closely, that he had only time to get into a fishing-bark, and push off, before the arrival of the party from which he had fled. When Zizim had quitted the shore, he fastened a letter to an arrow, which he threw at the soldiers, greatly disappointed at having missed this important prey. Instead of the prisoner, whom they flattered themselves with delivering to Bajazet, they carried him the following letter.

Zizim, Emperor, to his most cruel brother Bajazet.

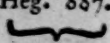
“ I demanded of thee what was just, and thou
“ hast paid me with inhumanity. I should have
“ at length bounded my desires to living peace-
“ ably on the frontiers; but thy detestable am-
“ bition would not permit thy brother to remain
“ quiet in a small portion of so great an empire.
“ I am then obliged, in order to save my life,
“ to have recourse to the Christian name, and
“ to the greatest enemies of our powerful house,
“ not through contempt for the religion of
“ my

“ my ancestors, but forced by thy cruelty; for J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.
 “ my greatest desire would be, to serve God
 “ according to the ceremonies of our holy law.
 “ It is true that I have no occasion to speak to
 “ thee of God, or of our holy prophet; for thou
 “ contemnest the law of both, and art destitute
 “ of all humanity. Our father laboured all his
 “ life to raise the house of Ottoman, and thou
 “ takest pleasure in destroying it. But the
 “ divine justice will avenge me one day of thy
 “ wickedness, and permit, that, when thou shalt
 “ have reigned some time by tyranny, the end
 “ of thy empire shall be more fatal, than the
 “ commencement of it has been fortunate. Be
 “ assured, that what thou art now attempting
 “ against me and my posterity, will be one day
 “ made use of against thee and thy children.”

It is said that Bajazet shed tears, on reading
 these complaints; but, notwithstanding that,
 he still pursued Zizim the same. This prince
 made towards Rhodes, tormented with the great-
 est inquietude. His bark, unarmed, and al-
 most without sails, in saving him from the
 hands of the spahis, exposed him to all the dan-
 gers of the sea. The smallest Turkish brigan-
 tine which he should have met with, could have
 delivered him to his brother. In this extremity
 he perceived a numerous fleet; his sailors, ter-
 rified, made vain efforts to bear off, but presently
 the fleet, swelling its sails, distinctly shewed them

Zizim is
 honorably
 received in
 the isle of
 Rhodes.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

 the Rhodian flag. Some signals informed the knights, that this miserable bark contained the prince whom they were seeking. Don Alvar de Zuniga, grand prior of Castile, admiral of the fleet, immediately sent a boat to Zizim. It was filled with the principal knights. The prince came on board the admiral galley; he was received at Rhodes with all the honors due to sovereigns. The grand master Aubuffon neglected nothing that could soften the misfortunes with which he had been oppressed. The Ottoman haughtiness was confounded with so much respect and generosity. Though Zizim stiled himself emperor of the Turks, he refused to take place of the grand master of Rhodes, who obliged him to it, and as they made in his presence a trial of the meat served up to him, more, without doubt, through parade than precaution, he said to the knights around him: "I have placed my life in
" your hands, and I don't believe that any of
" you have an intention to take it from me. As
" for the rest, I am under your protection, and
" not your sovereign."

Bajazet had no sooner learned that his brother was in the isle of Rhodes, than he would fain know with what sort of interest Zizim inspired these knights, whom he dreaded. After the emperor had reduced that part of Cilicia which as yet belonged to Caraman Ogli, and had taken from that prince the last remains of sovereignty

left

left his house, he returned triumphant to Constantinople with his vizier Acomat. This able minister, who had the most considerable trusts both in peace and war, endeavoured to get information of every thing that passed at Rhodes, without his master's appearing to trouble himself about it. The governor of Lycia, a province in the neighbourhood of the island, sent thither a pretended agent, under pretence of settling a treaty of commerce. Aubuffon regarded this agent, only as a spy masked under a specious title. He abridged the formalities which this man affected to multiply in order to prolong his mission, and kept him, as much as possible, from the object of his curiosity. Acomat, not being able to promise himself any thing more from this stratagem, tried another expedient. He sent a man to persuade the knights of Rhodes, to make a solid peace with the Turkish emperor. The vizier, without mentioning his master, who, he said, was not informed of this proceeding, promised to procure the completion of the treaty, provided the knights would agree to reasonable conditions. This peace might be particularly advantageous to the Order; Aubuffon listened to the proposals. Though Zizim was not then mentioned, the grand master did not doubt but they would require him to deliver up that unfortunate prince. To elude this condition, to which the knights could not consent, and to avoid

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

The Turks propose a peace to the Order of Rhodes, and the knights persuade Zizim to retire to France.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

avoid their coming to wrest Zizim from their hands, they determined to send him out of their territory; they persuaded the prince, that it would be right for him to shew himself to these nations from whom he expected succours. They offered him for asylum one of their commanderies in the district of Provence, where he should be entertained and served by knights, and where he would have an opportunity of conferring with the king of France; and they promised him, that, if the projected treaty did not take place, he, Zizim, should return, with the forces of Europe, and have the vessels and troops of the Order to make good his pretensions with.

The situation of the Ottoman prince did not permit him to discuss these reasons. It was necessary to obey orders disguised under the name of advice. Before he embarked for Provence, he signed an ample power to the grand master to treat with Bajazet, agreeably to what should best suit with the fortune and safety of prince Zizim. By an act, he engaged, if ever he recovered the empire, either in entire or part, to observe a constant peace with the Order, to open all his ports to their fleets, to set at liberty every year, gratis, three hundred Christians of both sexes, and to pay a hundred and fifty thousand crowns of gold to the treasury of the Order, to indemnify them for the expences which they had been at on his account.

This

This act, signed by the Turkish prince, is ^{J.C. 1482.} still preserved in the records of Malta. It is ^{Heg. 887.} dated the fifth of the month Rejeb, in the year of the hegira 887, which answers, according to our way of computing, to the 21st of August 1482. This prince embarked, at length, under the conduct of chevalier Blanchefort, nephew to the grand master, with a melancholy, which neither the respect nor promises of the knights that accompanied him, were able to remove.

As soon as Aubuffon saw himself freed from this dangerous guest, he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, to negociate a peace, which the Turkish emperor as anxiously desired as he did. The knights Dumont, Arnaud, and Duprat, were charged with this negociation. Bajazet received them with more honor than is in general paid by the Mussulmen to Christians. The vizier Acomat, and the bashaw Mischa Paleologus, who, having raised the siege of Rhodes, was exiled by Mahomet II. were appointed to treat with them. Bajazet had recalled this minister, and restored him all his employments. Acomat, who believed that the knights of Rhodes would never arm for Zizim, treated them with all the Mahometan haughtiness. He commenced with demanding, that prince Zizim should be delivered up, and that all the Order should be declared vassal and tributary to the empire. These proposals

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

propofals were received with ftill more haughtinefs than they had been made; the Rhodian ambaffadors would have broken up the conference immediately; but Mifcha Paleologus, who had more reason to fear the knights than any other perfon, endeavoured to pacify them; he faid in the Turkish language to his colleague, that he undoubtedly was not ignorant how much the emperor wifhed a peace, and that it was therefore wrong to throw fo many obftacles in the way. Duprat underftood Turkish, and his colleagues and he agreed to continue the conferences, but this only made them become more untractable on the conditions. The haughty Acomat foon excufed himfelf from conferring with the ambaffadors, leaving to his colleague, as he faid, the reproach of having difgraced the Ottoman empire. The moft difficult and important object was refpecting prince Zizim: thefe knights, who profefled generofity as much as nobility and bravery, could not abandon an unfortunate prince, who had thrown himfelf into their arms. On the other hand, a peace would be advantageous to the Ottoman empire, only by fecuring it againft Zizim. After a great deal of difcuffion, it was agreed, that the Order fhould engage to keep this prince always in its power, and under the ftict guard of feveral knights; that he fhould not be given up to any fovereign, Chriftian or Mahometan, that might make

The
knights
and Turks
agree on a
treaty.

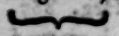
make use of his name to disturb the repose of the empire; that, for the maintenance and guard of this prince, the grand seignior should pay annually to the Order thirty-five thousand ducats of Venice. They agreed likewise on another sum, to indemnify the knights and inhabitants of Rhodes, for the losses that they had sustained by the siege. At this price peace was re-established between the two powers. However disgraceful this treaty might appear for Bajazet, the Turks gained by it, as their marine, very inferior to that of the Order, was unable to defend their merchants from the frequent captures which a great number of Rhodian vessels, well armed, were continually making on their coast. Bajazet signed this treaty in silence. But Acomat could not conceal his indignation; he lamented aloud the emperor's weakness, and complained bitterly, that this empire, founded on the ruins of so many crowns, should become, in the hands of Bajazet, tributary to a handful of soldiers.

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.

Acomat
does not
dissemble
his disap-
probation
of the
peace.

These indiscreet expressions were heard, even by the monarch, and some enemies did not fail to misrepresent them. One of these bashaws, called bashaws of the ban and arched roof, who had the most access to the prince, seized this occasion to ruin the grand vizier. This man, called Isaac, was father to one of Acomat's wives, who, under Mahomet II. had been ravished in a public bath by prince Mustapha. The reader must re-

J.C. 1482.
Heg. 887.



J.C. 1483.
Heg. 888.

The emperor abuses him in the midst of an entertainment, and is about to have him put to death.

member this event, which cost Bajazet's eldest brother his life. The vizier, in the first moments of his grief, had sent back his wife to her father. Since that time, Isaac and he were become irreconcilable enemies : Isaac painted the vizier to the emperor, as a dangerous censor : weak souls soon hate those whom they are led to fear. All Acomat's services were forgotten in a moment ; the emperor remembered his superiority over all the other warriors or ministers, only to punish him for it. Being resolved to get rid of him, he invited all the grandees of his court to a sumptuous entertainment, where the vizier appeared with the rest. Bajazet, contrary to the Turkish law, but agreeably to their customs, ordered a quantity of different sorts of wine to be served up ; they soon grew elevated ; the emperor said aloud, that, as he meant to establish peace solidly in his empire, he had no occasion for so many troops dearly paid, that he was going to diminish particularly the number of janissaries and spahis. Acomat opposed the design of his master, with that liberty which wine inspires, and the superiority which his knowledge and experience gave him. He told the prince, that he could not hope for a lasting peace with so many neighbours and tributaries not well brought under subjection, but whilst numerous and disciplined armies kept them in awe ; that, besides, it was ill repaying the services which these brave janissaries

janissaries had rendered both his father and him, <sup>J.C. 1483.
Heg. 888.</sup> to dismiss them without a subsistence; and that it was dangerous to irritate, by injustice, such a powerful body.

Bajazet, ill disposed, impatiently heard this salutary advice. At the end of the repast, vests of precious Stuffs were brought to all the guests. That placed before Acomat was of black silk; he easily comprehended the fatality announced by this present, particularly when, on the company's leaving the room of entertainment, Bajazet ordered him to remain. "Ungrateful tyrant," cried the vizier, "since thou hast determined "to take my life, why hast thou made me "transgress the law in my last moments?" Acomat meant to speak of the wine that he had drunk. The emperor, irritated, caused him, who had placed him on the throne, to be soundly beaten; they stripped him with violence, and the order for strangling him was given; but the kishar aga, or grand eunuch, a particular friend of the unfortunate Acomat, threw himself at the prince's feet, telling him, that, for the safety of his highness, it was necessary to defer the execution of the vizier 'till it should be known to what degree the janissaries were attached to that minister. All unjust and cruel as Bajazet was, he yielded to this timid counsel; and Acomat was imprisoned in a tower of the seraglio.

J.C. 1483.
Heg. 888.

Sedition of
the janis-
saries in
favor of A-
comat. He
appeases
the tumult
himself.

The unfortunate vizier had a son, a young man full of courage, who had already served under his father, and who loved him tenderly. This son, whose name has not been preserved by history, surprised at his father's not returning from the seraglio, though the night was already far advanced, ran to one of the guest's, who told him what he had seen, and which made him fear still more: for it was not doubted but the emperor had retained his father to have him strangled. The vizier's son, in a distracted state, ran to several odas of janissaries, crying that their general had perished, a victim to ingratitude and injustice. He had no difficulty to stir up these brave soldiers, who adored Acomat. In less than an hour, more than ten thousand janissaries were assembled in the streets, all declaring that they would go and burn the seraglio, free their general from thence, if he were alive, or massacre the tyrant on his dead body, if he had had the barbarity to put him to death. They all repaired to the seraglio with tapers and arms, and prepared to break open or burn the outer door, which was shut. The sultan appeared at a grated window above, and demanded of them with a trembling voice, what they would have. "Infamous drunkard," cried they, "render us our general, or we will instantly burn thy seraglio, and tear thee in pieces." The sight and cries of this mutinous soldiery, so terrified the empe-

ror and his attendants, that they hastened to produce Acomat in the situation he was. Terror hindered them from thinking of giving him his clothes. As soon as the janissaries perceived this great man, his head, legs, and arms naked, covered with bruises, and nothing but a kind of waistcoat on, like a man escaped from execution, their indignation and cries redoubled; they rudely stripped one of the officers of the seraglio, to clothe the vizier. If he had given them the least encouragement, this would have been the fate of the emperor and all those belonging to him. But this virtuous minister, forgetting his resentment and even his safety, thought only of appeasing the sedition. After having thanked the janissaries for their affection, he forbade them all violent means, assuring them, though false, that Bajazet had never intended to take his life. He repeated to them, that this prince was their master, and that he would learn for the future to make a better use of his power. He promised, from the emperor, pardon to all the authors of the sedition. In fine, he most powerfully protected this prince, who, two hours before, had attempted to have him put to an ignominious death, and he succeeded in dispersing these troops, all telling him, that he would perhaps repent of having a second time made Bajazet emperor.

J.C. 1483.
Heg. 888.

The

J.C. 1483.
Heg. 888.

The next day, Acomat went to the divan; he resumed all his functions, preserving his authority and credit with the people; but the two bashaws, Isaac and Paleologus, retained their influence over the sultan, who was more enraged in his heart than ever. Acomat made the whole court tremble: the timid and cruel Bajazet resolved to separate his minister from the soldiery; he took a journey to Adrianople, where the unfortunate vizier was strangled in secret, in the moment when he relied with greatest certainty on the gratitude of his master. Some janissaries, who had followed the emperor, were deceived with respect to the manner of Acomat's death, who, it was given out, died of an apoplexy. They were at that time very uneasy for themselves. Bajazet had removed several of their chiefs, under pretence of giving them timars or sangiacates, and it was known that these officers, apparently loaded with court favors, had been strangled by order of the bashaws, as soon as they had arrived at the place of their destination.

J.C. 1484,
to 1489.
Heg. 889.
to 894.

The janissaries take to arms: Bajazet pacifies them.

The designs which Bajazet had conceived against his janissaries soon became public. On the emperor's return to Constantinople, all the odas left their quarters; they marched out in order, and encamped in the plain, intrenched themselves, and placed a guard in their front, as if they had been opposite an enemy. The sultan, terrified, no longer thought but how to bring back

back these formidable foldiers to their obedience. J.C. 1484, to 1489. Heg. 889, to 894.
 He went himself to their camp; he loaded the chiefs and foldiers with careffes, which fear alone rendered sincere, and swore to them several times, by the prophet and the soul of his father, that he had no design to destroy them, nor even to diminish their number. These submissions appeased the insurrection; the janissaries returned to Constantinople, and order was re-established in a few days.

Bajazet soon perceived the necessity of letting loose these lions against some foreign prey, to avoid being devoured by them himself. In order that the war, for which he designed them, might have some duration, he chose them enemies worthy of their attention, the Mammelukes of Egypt. We shall say in a few words what these Mammelukes were. War with the Mammelukes: their origin.

Egypt, like so many other kingdoms, had formerly belonged to the emperors of Constantinople. The Grecian yoke became insupportable to these people: they called the caliphs to their assistance. These last drove out the Greeks, and soon oppressed their new subjects, who did but change tyrants. The Abbasian caliphs were, in their turn, driven from Egypt by the Fatimite caliphs. Godfrey of Bouillon, the founder of the kingdom of Jerusalem, made war against these people. They had recourse to the soudan of Syria, who sent them Sarracon, a renowned general,

J.C. 1484, general, at the head of a formidable army.
 to 1489.
 Heg. 889, This Syrian, the avenger of the caliphs, pre-
 to 894.
 {sently oppressed them; he confined their author-
 rity to things of religion, and reserved to himself
 the temporal power. Saladin, his successor,
 fought and defeated the Christians in Syria and
 Palestine, and at last drove them from Jerusalem.
 The descendants of this prince possessed the
 throne of Egypt after him. One of them, called
 Nodggemedin Salé, who regarded the Egyptians
 much less like his subjects than his slaves, in
 order to accustom them to their chains, forbade
 them the use of arms. He brought into Egypt
 a set of foreigners, who defended and oppressed
 the natives at the same time. Nodggemedin
 Salé formed a considerable army of Scythians or
 Tartars, who, almost all, had been slaves; he
 ordered that these troops should never be re-
 cruited but by foreigners or slaves like them-
 selves, irrevocably excluding all the native Eryp-
 tians, without distinction, from the army, as well
 as every other employment. These foreigners,
 protectors, or rather oppressors, of the native in-
 habitants, were called Mammelukes. It was
 with these Mammelukes that Nodggemedin Salé
 combated the Christians; it was with them that
 Touramcha, his son and successor, made Lewis
 IX. prisoner near Damietta; but he was mas-
 sacred by them, almost under the eyes of the
 French king. After this, the Mammelukes seized
 the

the throne of Egypt, and, following always the laws which Nodggemedin Salé had given them, they condemned his family to obscurity, which soon became extinct. Ibec was the first soudan taken from this redoubtable soldiery, which preserved afterward the right of raising or deposing the sovereigns of Egypt, whom they always chose from the family of Ibec. But these princes remained no longer on the throne than was pleasing to the Mammelukes. Before the Turks extended their empire, the riches, force, and authority of the soudan of Egypt, caused him to be regarded as the chief of the Mahometan law. This power flourished during three hundred years. Their maxim was, rather to meditate the maintaining of themselves, than to make conquests, and they abstained from making war against the Mussulmen, before they were themselves attacked.

Bajazet, master of Caramania, ought naturally to desire the conquest of Syria and Egypt, or rather, as we have said, in the necessity of employing the janissaries, he resolved to send them against the Mammelukes, so like themselves by their bravery, and the fear in which they kept their master. A quarrel between two princes, who paid tribute to the two empires, was the pretext of the war between the Turks and the soudan of Egypt. Adoulet, (who was the Turkish vassal,) possessed a small territory on the confines of Circassia; he was attacked by his

J.C. 1484,
to 1489.
Heg. 889,
to 894.

Bajazet,
twice beaten by the
Mammelukes,
concludes a
peace with
them.

E e

neighbour

J.C. 1484,
to 1489.
Heg. 889,
to 894.

neighbour Catebai, a vassal of the foudan of Egypt, and petty sovereign like Adoulet. Bajazet declared he would send a considerable army against the Mammelukes. It was with difficulty that the latter could prevail with themselves to fight against Sunnite Mahometans. But when they learned that the sultan was advancing towards Syria at the head of his troops, it became indispensable to make a defence; they gathered together their forces, and marched against those who would be their enemies. The two armies met in Caramania, near mount Aman, a famous place, where Alexander defeated Darius. The Turks, fatigued with a long and precipitate march, and embarrassed with their baggage, were employed in pitching their tents, when they were smartly charged by the Mammelukes. Their cavalry, fresh and well disciplined, falling sword in hand on these dispersed soldiers, began the combat by the carnage which should have ended it. Some battalions of janissaries formed in the rear of the camp, and gave the spahis time to mount their horses. Surprised as the Turks were, they made rather a vigorous resistance; but it was necessary to yield to circumstances and number. Bajazet, having fallen back several leagues, rallied his dispersed troops in an advantageous camp, which Mustapha, his grand vizier, had chosen for him. The night was approaching, when the Mammelukes appeared on the border of a river which

which separated them from those whom they had pursued. At break of day they found a ford, passed the river, and recommenced the battle. The emperor's presence sustained some time the courage of the Turks; but the number of the Mammelukes, which augmented every instant, and their recent victory, which rendered them as high spirited as their enemies were dejected, made them triumph a second time. Bajazet lost his cannon and baggage in this second overthrow; he retired towards his own country, always facing about to these troops, who sharply pursued him, and every day weakened his army. The Turks had never experienced a greater defeat since Tamerlane; they took advantage of the repugnance which the Mammelukes had to dip their hands in Mahometan blood. All vanquishers as were these last, they consented to a peace, which Bajazet obtained by only giving up some places on the confines of Caramania.

A little while after, the emperor tried his forces in Europe against the Croats. His generals took one part of their provinces, and cut in pieces the troops of Matthias, king of Hungary, who came to the assistance of his allies. The conquest was kept by the Turks. It was some years after this, that Bajazet and his sons were delivered of Zizim, that rival of their grandeur, who had so warmly disputed a throne, which, he pretended, belonged to him. It is

J.C. 1484,
to 1489.
Heg. 889,
to 894.

War with
Hungary.

J.C. 1484,
to 1489.
Heg. 889,
to 894.
necessary to go back a little, to see what succours this unfortunate prince found, among the greatest enemies of his race.

Conclusion
of the his-
tory of
Zizim.

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

The reader must remember, that the grand master Aubusson, in order to make a necessary peace with the Ottoman empire, sent Zizim to France, and engaged to retain him there. And indeed, some knights were charged by the grand master to keep this prince in a commandery of the grand priory of Auvergne, called Bourganeuf. The knights never quitted him, under pretence of rendering him honor, and even of serving him. Zizim, perceiving his captivity, sent to request an interview of Lewis XI. king of France, in which he hoped to interest him in his situation. Lewis, who had affairs of more importance than those of the East, thought he had found a way to elude the demands of the Turkish prince, by assuring him, that he would never consent to give him any succour, nor even to speak to him, 'till he should turn Christian. Zizim not only looked upon the Christian religion with horror, but the hope, which he never lost, of mounting one day on the throne of Constantinople, was another reason for his not abjuring his faith. In these wretched circumstances, he learned, that the knights of Rhodes had just trafficked with his liberty, and that it was the price of the peace concluded between the Order and the Ottoman empire. All the princes, who had any affair to de-

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cide with the East, were interested in putting ^{J.C. 1495.} Zizim at the head of a party, in order to make the ^{Heg. 900.} Ottomans turn their arms against themselves. Ferdinand the Catholic, Ferdinand king of Naples, and the Venetians, wanted to set up this prince against Bajazet. Aubusson, for the honor as much as for the interest of his Order, was obstinate in fulfilling his treaty. But Innocent VIII. who succeeded Sixtus IV. more absolute and enterprising than his predecessor, ordered the grand master, (a vassal and suffragan of the Holy See,) to remit him prince Zizim, whom he proposed to make use of for the good of Christendom against the Mahometan power. Aubusson, who could not resist, made an advantage of his obedience. He obtained from the pontiff, that, neither he, nor his successors, should ever confer any commandery to the prejudice of the nations or laws of seniority, even though they should become vacant in the court of Rome. Innocent declared likewise, that the possessions of the Order of Rhodes should not be, for the future, included in the roll of benefices which the pope reserves to himself.

This treaty being agreed on, the knights sent to Charles VIII. the son and successor of Lewis XI. to ask permission to take Zizim from his dominions. At the same time there arrived an ambassador in France from the Porte, whom Bajazet had sent to the king. Charles VIII. made

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

a scruple of giving audience to the ambassador of an Infidel. He sent him orders to remain at Riez in Provence, from whence he should declare the object of his mission. Bajazet requested, that his brother might be delivered up to him, or, at least, that the king should not permit him to go out of his dominions. To give weight to his demand, the Turkish emperor offered Charles VIII. all the relicks that Mahomet his father had found, either at Constantinople or in any other part of his empire; and as he was at that time at war with Egypt, he promised to restore him Jerusalem and all its territory, as soon as he should be in possession of it. But the French, by this time, were out of conceit with crusades, on account of the misfortunes which those indiscreet expeditions had drawn on the whole kingdom. Moreover, Charles VIII. had not that fondness for relicks which Lewis XI. had shewn, and all those that came from the Greeks were suspected, even by the most credulous. Bajazet's ambassador was sent back without having obtained any thing, or even been admitted to an audience. Charles VIII. permitted the knights of Rhodes to conduct their prisoner to Rome, on condition of his remaining always under their guard, and that the pope should engage not to give up Zizim to any sovereign prince, without the participation of the court of France.

Chevalier

Chevalier Blanchefort, become grand prior of Auvergne, was charged with conducting this prince to Italy, who only changed prisons. The pope impatiently expected him. Notwithstanding the aversion of the Italians for the followers of Mahomet, Zizim's captivity was concealed under the number of honors that were paid him, as if he had been a Christian prince. He made his entry into Rome, mounted on a superb horse, and surrounded by a numerous retinue. An apartment had been prepared for him in the Vatican. The day after his entrance, the French ambassador and the grand prior of Auvergne conducted the prince to the audience of the pope. The sovereign pontiff, accompanied by the cardinals and prelates of his court, received Zizim on his throne. This prince saluted the pope after the manner of his nation; but, spite of the entreaties that were made him by the masters of the ceremonies, he would never kiss his feet, nor bend the knee before him. It was remarked even, that he asked the pontiff's protection, with a dignity that the Italian prelates termed arrogance. Innocent answered him kindly; and whilst that pontiff lived, the captivity of the Turkish prince was much more supportable at Rome, than it had been in France. They paid him great honors, and gave him as much liberty as the necessity of securing his person could admit of. But at the death of Innocent VIII. the culpable Borgia, under the name of Alexander

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

Alexander VI. came to dishonor the see of Saint Peter, by all the crimes that placed him in the papal throne, and all those which he committed during his pontificate. As every thing was venal at the court of this tyrant, after he had trafficked with the ecclesiastical benefices, dispensations, and every thing spiritual; he would also sell the liberty, even the life of Zizim, who was in his power. Alexander took this prince out of the hands of the knights of Rhodes, shut him up in the castle of St. Angelo, and gave advice of it to the emperor Bajazet, who agreed to pay the pope forty thousand ducats a year for keeping him a prisoner.

Meanwhile, Charles VIII. king of France, was making great preparations, to make good the pretensions of the house of Anjou, to the crown of Naples, which, by the will of Charles IV. of Anjou, had been transferred to Lewis XI. The pope, high sovereign of the kingdom, protected the bastard branch, which occupied the throne; but Charles VIII. who contemned the pontiff, threatened to have him deposed in a council, for the numerous crimes by which he had procured the tiara, and the many which had polluted him since. They pretended besides, that the ambitious Charles VIII. had purchased the right of the Paleologusses to the eastern empire, in order to claim it after he should be in possession of the kingdom of Naples. In these circumstances,

cumstances, the vicar of Jesus Christ entered into a league with the emperor of the Mussulmen against the eldest son of the Church. Alexander dispatched a nuncio to Bajazet, to warn him, that the king of France was approaching, at the head of a numerous army, and that he wanted to force sultan Zizim from his hands, in order to employ that prince against him the emperor: that the pope was thoroughly determined to oppose this enterprize, particularly to hinder Charles VIII. from approaching Rome, but that he could not carry on such an important war, without such cours, and that he impatiently expected three years of Zizim's pension. The pontiff represented to the Turkish emperor, that the head of his brother was for the highest bidder; he added, that the soudan of Egypt offered him considerable sums for the ransom of that prince.

Bajazet, when he sent the pope the money demanded, endeavoured to obtain from him the murder of his brother. He wrote him: "Zizim, in the bottom of a prison, does but languish; he is more than half dead; it would be doing him a kindness, to send him by an easy death, to the place where he would enjoy eternal repose." This letter concluded with offering him three hundred thousand ducats. Whether Alexander wanted to make more money of this crime, or that he thought it more advantageous to retain Zizim in fetters, he let him

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

live 'till Charles VIII. being arrived in Italy, without any thing's withstanding him, obliged the pope himself to seek his safety in the castle of St. Angelo. The pontiff was obliged to have recourse to negociation; the immense sums which Alexander had ravished from Christendom served to palliate his crimes; he gained over all the ministers and favorites of Charles VIII. and promised to adhere inviolably to the party of the king of France, whom he was firmly resolved to abandon as soon as he should be out of his hands. At length, a cardinal's hat for Brissonnet the minister, and the person of Zizim, whom the pope delivered to Charles VIII. were the seal of the treaty concluded in 1495. But the sovereign pontiff, considering himself bound in conscience to keep his word with the emperor of the Turks, caused his unfortunate brother to be poisoned, a few days after the French king, who was anxious to get possession of Naples, had brought that prince to Terracina. Cardinal Borgia, since duke of Valentinois, a bastard of the pope, whom Charles VIII. had taken with him as a hostage, fled, through favor of the darkness, the same night that this outrage was committed. It was supposed, that he had been the worthy instrument of the policy of his father.*

This

* This pontiff, "of all bad men the worst," after having been guilty of every crime, met with the end which he so justly merited. He declared himself, as pope, not only the heir of the cardinals, but likewise of every prelate.

This happy event for Bajazet encouraged him to declare war against the Venetians. The difficulties of commerce, always subsisting between these two powers, were a pretext for arming. The Venetians, who believed themselves more powerful by sea than the Turks, did not decline the contest. The sultan fitted out a considerable fleet. The republic, informed of these preparations, which could hardly regard any one but them, armed on their side, notwithstanding the assurances given their ambassador by the viziers, that the ancient treaties with them ensured a constant peace. But Bajazet's refusal to sign anew these treaties, translated from the Italian into the Ottoman language, informed the ambassador, how little the Venetians had to depend on them. And indeed it is a common opinion among the Mussulmen, that they are not obliged to keep their words, not even their oaths, unless

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

F f 2

these

prelate who should die at Rome. Alexander, and his son Cæsar Borgia, having taken an exact account of the fortunes of these deplorable victims, meditated to poison the richest of them. Not daring to invite them to the Vatican, for fear of giving a suspicion, they prepared an entertainment in the country house of cardinal Adrian Cornetto, and took care to mix among several bottles of the best Italian wine, a bottle empoisoned. The servant to whom they had confided this horrible secret being absent when the pope and Cæsar arrived, and they wanting some refreshment, he, who supplied his place, fell by chance on the empoisoned bottle. The effect was sudden and dreadful. The pope fell dangerously ill the same evening, and died at the end of eight days a prey to grief and remorse. Though Cæsar, by the vigour of his age, and an antidote taken immediately, saved his life; he remained for a long time in a state of imbecility and languishment infinitely worse than death itself. *Translator.*

J.C. 1495.
Heg. 900.

War with
the repub-
lic of Ve-
nice.

J.C. 1500.
Heg. 905.

The Turks
beat the
Venetians
by sea, and
take the
town of
Lepanto.

these engagements be written in their native tongue.

The two fleets were ready nearly at the same time. That of the Turks was composed of two hundred and fifty sail. The emperor, who did not like the sea, gave the command of this fleet to his vizier Mustapha, and went himself by land along the Morea. The Venetians, whose fleet was composed only of forty-six galleys, fifty large vessels, and forty less ones, were not intimidated by the inferiority of their number. Admiral Grimani, who commanded them, sought to engage: he soon met the enemy; the combat commenced with all the advantage which superior manœuvres always give the Christians over the Turks. But when Grimani thought himself certain of the victory, the Turks discharged a shower of inflamed arrows, which set fire to the sails and cordage; the fire presently produced confusion; Grimani was either frightened or badly obeyed; in an instant fortune and victory changed; the Venetian fleet was burnt or dispersed, and a great number of sailors, in precipitating themselves from the inflamed vessels, met death in the waves which they had endeavoured to shun. The Turks, vanquishers, hastened to improve their advantage; they undertook the siege of Lepanto by land and sea, and, in a few days, made themselves masters of that important place. The Venetians, ashamed of their defeat, pressed their admiral

admiral to return to the combat some days after, with what vessels he had been able to gather together. But whether Grimani's fleet was too much damaged to give him hopes of beating a victorious enemy, or that he wanted abilities or courage, he resolved to return to Venice, where the resentment of his fellow citizens attended him.

J.C. 1500.
Heg. 1905.

In effect, the senate demanded of him an account of a conduct, which every one termed cowardice. Grimani appeared before the grand council ('tis thus they term at Venice the general assembly of all the nobles in whom is the sovereign authority). It was convoked, lest the culprit should find favor from a too small number of judges. The admiral was conducted into this august assembly, loaded with chains, which his son, a cardinal, sustained for him to lessen their weight. Several were for putting him to death, though Grimani had lent to the republic, a large sum of money, without interest, to fit out this same fleet, which he had made such a bad use of. At length, by the plurality of voices, he was stripped of the dignities of admiral and procurator of St. Mark's, and banished, for the remainder of his days, to the isle of Cherso. Trevisano succeeded the unfortunate Grimani as admiral.

The news soon arrived of the Turks' having besieged Modon by land and sea. The Venetian fleet left Zante and sailed to succour the besieged.

Taking of
Modon.

J.C. 1500.
Heg. 905.

by favor of the night, passed across the fleet of the enemy, to warn the inhabitants of Modon, that they were coming to their succour. Five galleys in good condition, equipped with excellent crews of slaves, and loaded with provisions, carried these succours. The Turks prepared to dispute the passage; but, spite of their efforts, what had been always seen before, happened then; these five galleys crossed the enemy's fleet, and entered the port of Modon. The soldiers and citizens, overcome with joy, ran towards the port, to enjoy the sight of this unexpected succour; but this happy event was precisely the cause of the loss of the place; they imprudently abandoned their walls: whilst the soldiers, gone from their posts, were indulging themselves in an indiscreet joy, the Turks mounted to the assault by four places that were not defended, and the besieged learned that the town was surprised, in the moment when every one was crying it was impregnable. Some soldiers attempted to defend themselves in the strongest places; but the principal avenues being gained by the enemy, they were soon obliged to yield to number. The Turks resigned themselves to cruelty, more than they would else probably, because they had been humbled by the disadvantage of their fleet. Though they found immense riches in Modon, it did not stop their barbarity. After a horrible carnage, Mus-
tapha

Taking of
Coron.

tapha removed his fleet to Coron, and menaced that town with the same fate. The recent example forced the citizens to surrender without striking a blow, notwithstanding the resistance of the Venetian governor, who endeavoured to preserve the town. They bound him in his lodgings, whilst the citizens made the capitulation with Mustapha. Meanwhile, a Turkish army ravaged Friuli, and committed all the horrors of war, which necessity cannot authorise. The Venetian garrisons only offered more victims to the conqueror. The janissaries, who had not an opportunity of selling their slaves, unmercifully massacred every one that fell in their way, without being moved by prayers or weakness. Admiral Trevisano, who had escaped from the enemy's sword, died with grief at the sight of the disorders which he was unable to prevent. The Turks did not stop in this ruined country, which felt the effects of the slaughter a long time. They went and took Durazzo, which they retained.

J.C. 1500.
Heg. 905.

Devastation of
Friuli.

Taking of
Durazzo.

The Venetians, overwhelmed with this expensive and bloody war, were beginning to fear the worst, when they met with Gonzalo de Cordova, who had just taken possession of the kingdom of Naples, in the name of Ferdinand the Catholic his master. This Spaniard, so justly surnamed the Great Captain, joined thirty sail, his fortune, and talents, to the shattered forces of the Venetians; he pursued, with them, the enemy's

J.C. 1501.
Heg. 906.

J.C. 1501.
Heg. 906.

my's fleet as far as the mouth of the Hellespont, and took thirty galleys from the Turks; then returning the same way, he took the isles of Egion and Cefalonia. He was going to take the isle of Lesbos in the same manner, when Bajazet, seeing it was different to fight Gonzalo and the Venetian admirals, proposed peace to this republic, which desired it as much as he did. These two states were necessary to each other. The Venetians, at that time factors to three parts of the world, transported all the merchandise, which they purchased of every nation. The Turks, rich by the extent and fertility of their different climates, furnished unwrought materials, which they knew not how to manufacture, and received in exchange the fruit and industry of the Franks. Wool, perfumes, and skins, were at that time the principal objects of commerce. The Turks had destroyed the industry of the Greeks by their despotism, and the only use they could make of these things, was to sell them to the Christians, who brought them, in return, stuffs, cloaks, and compositions, which no one knew how to make among them, or durst if he had. Thus, when the arms of the Turks caused them to be dreaded throughout the world, the necessities of life subjected them to the industry of the weakest, and constrained these haughty people to avow, at least by their conduct, how much industry has the real advantage over force and number. The Venetian

tians restored some places to the Turks in Albania. In other respects, each retained his conquests. A treaty was signed in the Turkish language, by which the two nations mutually agreed to permit the liberty of commerce, and a Venetian consul was established at Constantinople.

J.C. 1501.
Heg. 907.

Bajazet flattered himself with enjoying a profound peace. The weakness of his character made him desire it rather than the love of humanity, of which the Turks at that time had very little. The repose which the monarch procured these people, was for them, only an occasion to commit disorders. Whilst Bajazet was resigning himself to pleasures which he had ever loved more than war, the seraglio was suddenly alarmed by news which presently called forth the great officers of the empire, lulled asleep by the side of their master. A dervis, who, during a long retreat and profound meditations, had nourished ambitious projects, full of the desire of forming a new sect, conceived the design of maintaining in Turkey the opinion of the Fatimite caliphs, embraced by the Persians, who acknowledge Ali for the immediate successor of Mahomet. One could not give credit to this opinion, without contradicting the Sunna, a book of traditions the most respected among the Ottomans, after the Alcoran, because it nominates Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, first successors of the prophet, and predecessors of his son-in-law Ali. This dervis,

Scheitan-
kuli preaches in
arms.

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

G g

called

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

called Scheitankuli, was willing to render his new doctrine more interesting, by embellishing it with several other new opinions. He preached, for example, that the Alcoran was from all eternity with God, and proved it by the same reasons as were alledged before the caliph Almamon.

Scheitankuli authorised his mission by a residence of ten years in a cavern in Natolia, near a town called Becbazar, where he affected, in presence of the multitude, an outward austerity. The reputation of his sanctity being well established, he assembled soldiers; (for the Mussulmen know no other way of preaching than sword in hand, and believe that every envoy from God ought to reign in his name on earth;) having entered, by open force, one market day, into a town called Antalia, he preached in the public square. His enthusiasm entered the hearts of all those who heard him, and the effect of the sermon was, to seize on the cadi, quarter him, and place one of the quarters on each of the four gates of the town. Scheitankuli went from thence and seized on Kutaia, the capital of the province; the people, fond of novelty, opened their gates, spite of the bashaw, whom their enthusiasm led them to empale in the public square, for having dared treat him as an impostor.

He commits a great many disorders in Natolia, & beats Korcut.

Korcut, the son of the emperor, who had formerly reigned in his name, and was now at Magnesia as bashaw of that place, endeavoured

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to oppose this rebel, whose soldiers, badly disciplined, had all that ardour which fanaticism inspires. The young prince had but very few janissaries; the troops which he gathered in haste, were not better trained than those of the novator, and were much less experienced. Korcut was beaten, and thought himself very happy to save his head from the sword of this sanguinary fanatic. He informed his father of this ill success, which it was high time to put a stop to. Notwithstanding some success which Bajazet's generals had had under his eyes, he was thoroughly tired of war. Though the circumstances were painted to him as pressing, they could not prevail on this prince to arm for the defence of his throne. He sent his vizier Ali, the successor of Mustapha, to Natolia, at the head of an army, but the guard which watched around his seraglio at Constantinople, could not secure him from danger. As he was going to the mosque, a dervis, an emissary of Scheitankuli's, asked alms of him; the emperor stooped to give him something, when the traitor stabbed him in the breast with a poniard, and it was a long time before the wound was healed. Since this event, all those, who are neither members of the divan nor officers of the seraglio, never approach the emperor of the Turks, without two chiaus' holding them by the arms.

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

The emperor sends an army against him.

One of his emissaries endeavours to assassinate Bajazet.

The pretended prophet, as crafty and ambitious as Mahomet had been, had not the same talents

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

Scheitan-
kuli is de-
feated and
his troops
are dis-
persed. He
flees into
Persia.

for war. Some regular, disciplined troops, soon dispersed this croud of enthusiasts, terrible to men without arms, but who, having no notion of the art of war, were more capable of massacring than fighting. Ali bashaw vanquished them in a pitched battle, and re-took all the places of which the rebels had possessed themselves, as easily as they had taken them. Scheitankuli comprehended, that arms would not be so favorable to him as he had flattered himself. He renounced the character of conqueror, and, concealing his retreat, even from his dearest disciples, he fled into Persia to the king, whose opinion on the succession of Ali was the same as he had preached. This man is regarded, if not as the author, at least as the restorer of the Persian schism, and as their third prophet. It is not then foreign to our subject, to give a particular account of his success in that kingdom, and less so, as he was the cause of that inveterate hatred which still divides the Ottomans and Persians.

He obtains
the confi-
dence of
the king,
and, by
means of a
false mira-
cle, makes
alterations
in the text
of the Al-
coran,
which are
admitted
by the
Persians.

Scheitankuli was not ignorant that Ishmael, king of Persia, believed the dogmas of the succession of Ali. He went to shelter himself at the court of that prince, as a martyr of this pretended truth. The false prophet had acquired in his retreat, more learning than is commonly found among the Mussulmen. He had some knowledge of the mathematics, and particularly of judicial astrology, which was greatly esteemed in

that

that century and country. King Ishmael, cap-
 tivated with the eloquence, doctrine, and erudi-
 tion of this extraordinary man, intrusted him
 with the education of the princes his children,
 and submitted his own faith to the reveries of the
 pretended prophet. All the Persians were not,
 like their master, of the sect of Ali. 'Till then,
 the king had tolerated the different opinions;
 all professed Islamism; but every one explained
 the Alcoran his own way, and peace reigned in
 Persia, because no person had undertaken to ex-
 plain what was not intelligible to any one.
 Scheitankuli, more powerful in Persia than he
 had ever been in Turkey, since he had subjugated
 the king, used this new power with more address
 than in the Ottoman empire, but with still more
 cruelty. He raised no more armies, which he
 knew not how to conduct, but inculcated his
 opinions into a credulous, sanguinary soul; and,
 employing this great argument of Mahomet,
 that fire and sword are the strongest instruments
 of truth, he prevailed on Ishmael to banish all
 those who would not subscribe to the new dog-
 mas. One of the most important was, to know
 if Mahomet required them to wash their feet
 every morning with water, or if it were sufficient
 to rub them with the hand without wetting them.
 The Turks and Persians had always made use of
 water in this custom. The novator would have
 them only wipe their feet. This proceeding,
 and


J.C. 1510.
 Heg. 916.

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

and several others of the same kind, caused a great number of Mussulmen to revolt. As every one who complained was punished with death, the number of executions obliged a great many subjects to leave Persia. Ishmael, affrighted at this desertion, presumed to complain of it to his prophet, who offered, in order to retain the people under his law, to manifest, by miracles, the authenticity of his mission. For several days Scheitankuli carried his slaves to a wood contiguous to the palace of Ispahan. He made the youngest of the princes, who was particularly fond of his preceptor, take notice of an old plane tree, which he recommended him to point out to the king his father when it should be proper time. As they particularly reproached Scheitankuli with altering the text of the Alcoran, under pretence of explaining it, the false prophet said to the king, that he would prove to the whole universe, that he alone was capable of expounding this sacred book. An assembly of the people was summoned in the wood which we have just spoken of. Scheitankuli desired the king to order the youngest of his sons, to choose what tree in the wood he liked. The child, well instructed, fixed on the same that he had agreed on with his master. The impostor then presented to the prince and people a book, which contained the Alcoran exactly according to the text; another, the leaves of which were all blank; and a third, in which
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the Alcoran was written with the alterations that ^{J.C. 1510.} ^{Heg. 916.} Scheitankuli had thought necessary, and which he pretended was the real text of Mahomet. The young prince placed the ancient Alcoran and the blank book in the trunk of the tree. Scheitankuli had the trunk closed up with bands of iron, sealed it with the seal of the kingdom, and declared, that, in forty days, God would manifest in the same place, his will, his law, and his prophet. He returned to the palace, holding in his hand that of the three books which he had corrected himself. During this interval of forty days, the hypocrite affected to go often under this plane tree, and address fervent prayers to God. The time being arrived when the miracle was to be fulfilled, all the people flocked around the plane tree. Scheitankuli recommenced his prayers with more fervency than ever; after which, assuming the voice of inspiration, he ordered the tree to be opened. The little Persian prince, who had placed the two books in the trunk of this plane, took two from it in the same form, of which the one, said to be the ancient Alcoran, was rased and interlined in all the places that the pretended prophet had thought ought to be changed, and the other, which was believed to be the blank book, was a faithful copy, without a rasure, of this new Alcoran, which he wanted to have received. The people, fascinated, without informing themselves if the plane had not been opened during

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

 during the night, or the two books, shut up in the trunk forty days before, were not still there, cried a miracle. They all prostrated themselves before the pretended prophet. Every one named him the second Mahomet, and, according to the principles of the Mahometan law, vowed eternal war and hatred against all those who should not think as they did. The prophet ordered, that the tree, which had served to manifest his mission, should be burnt, which was executed immediately. It was essential to convey from eyes which might be less credulous, the examination of a matter so easy to unfold. From this day the Persians gave Scheitankuli the name of sphi, which signifies, in Persian, a man clothed in woollen, or a friar. Though this impostor was not king, he reigned under the name of king Ishmael. This prince was only the instrument of the will of his prophet, and the name of sphi was so respected in Persia, that Ishmael's successors have always borne it since the death of Scheitankuli. This fortunate impostor inspired the Persians with the hatred that he had for the Turks. We know how much the Mahometan religion alienates its disciples from all those who profess another belief: it arms them still infinitely more against those who have raised up sects in its bosom. Scheitankuli so profited by this want of toleration to incense the two nations against one another, that, in war, a Mussulman, who thinks
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of offering a sacrifice to God by killing a Christian enemy, believes firmly, if he be a Turk, that the head of a Persian, or if he be a Persian, that the head of a Turk, is as agreeable to God, as that of seventy Christians. The two nations equally anathematise the Alcoran which the other nation adopts. When one of the monarchs sends ambassadors to the other, he does not fail of placing among the number of presents a copy, magnificently bound, of the Alcoran, agreeable to the lesson which he believes orthodox. And when the ambassador offers the prince this book with all the other presents, the monarch kisses respectfully another copy of his law, which care has been taken to put under his eyes, and leaves the book offered, on the steps of his throne.

Whilst these violent fits of fanaticism were giving Persia a new face, Bajazet lived at Constantinople in full repose, if a life of effeminacy and voluptuousness may be so called, the excess of which had brought a number of disorders on him. He was afflicted with the gout; his torments suggested to him the desire of intrusting one of his sons with the cares of government, which were too much for his imbecility. This monarch had had eight sons, three of which died in childhood. He had distributed sangiacates or governments to the five others. These princes lived at a distance from their sovereign, but in a much greater dependance than the other ba-

Bajazet
causes two
of his sons
to be put
to death.

Hh

shaws.

J.C. 1510.
Heg. 916.

shaws: It cost two of them their lives, Atsian and Mahomet, for having considered themselves masters of the countries intrusted to them by their father. Atsian was strangled by order of the emperor, for a disobedience, of which history does not give the circumstances. As to Mahomet, his crime was not so evident as that of his brother, but his character caused him to be looked upon as more dangerous, for Bajazet did not dare put him to death but in secret. This prince had travelled in disguise and visited all his brothers, even the court of his father, where he had succeeded to speak to the sultan without the latter's discovering him to be his son. He had introduced himself into all the odas of the janissaries, and had had secret conferences with their chiefs; he had visited all the principal towns of the empire, always under a disguise which rendered it easy for him to make what observations he pleased. At length, his conduct announcing ambitious views, and a desire of instructing himself, always suspected at the court of despotic princes, Bajazet ordered a secretary to poison him; and, as if he would remove from himself the suspicion of the crime, he destroyed the instrument which he had made use of. Mahomet was interred, by order of the sultan, in the tomb of the emperors, and his assassin was thrown into the sea in a leather sack.

Achmet, his eldest son, was that which he loved the best of the three that remained, because
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he was not formed for war, but led a retired life, J.C. 1510, Heg. 916.
 and though, according to law, the sceptre belonged to him after Bajazer, he had never shewn any impatience to reign. The emperor thought to free himself from the cares of the throne, by placing his son on it, and preserving the same power with the conveniency of resigning himself to his pleasures, particularly to his passion for wine, which caused much scandal among the true Mussulmen, and which he should be better able to conceal. The bashaws and janissaries, who were impatient at the repose in which Bajazer had left them for ten years, would with pleasure have seen him cease to be their master, if he had not chosen Achmet for his successor. They said there would be still less spoils and less timars to hope for under this prince, than Bajazer; that the glory of the Ottoman arms would be soon tarnished, and that they should forget how to fight under a prince, who loved repose, more than his ancestors had loved conquests. As soon as the approaching abdication of the sultan was rumoured abroad, the chiefs of the janissaries went to the future emperor, to request of him an augmentation of pay. The prince answered, that those, who worked less than ever, ought not to expect to have their salary augmented; that, as he was not preparing for very bloody wars, he had no intention of paying them dearer than his ancestors had. This imprudent answer offended men who

This prince proposes to abdicate in favor of Achmet his eldest son.

The soldiers will have Selim for emperor; who raises an army, marches against his father, and is beaten.

J.C. 1510. knew no other glory than that of shedding blood.
 Heg. 916.

They were near insulting Achmet, and from that instant they decided between themselves, that he should never be emperor. It remained for them to choose between the two other sons of Bajazet; for the respect of the Ottomans for the blood of their masters, is, as we have said, a point of religion; but they have often taken upon them to place on the throne, him of the Ottoman race whom they thought most worthy of reigning. The janissaries sent to Trebizond the senberekchi bakchi, or superintendent of the engines, to sound Selim, the youngest of Bajazet's sons.

The delegate of the malecontents found in this prince all the ambition and complaisance that the janissaries could wish. The example of his brothers had prevented him 'till then from undertaking any thing by himself; but he only wanted an occasion, and did not fail of seizing it. Selim passed the Bosphorus, and advanced, at the head of twenty thousand men whom he had gathered together, as far as Adrianople, in hopes that those, who caused him to act, would join him. He cloaked this march under the pretext of going to see his father; which, among the Mussulmen, is a sacred duty, and the most meritorious, after the pilgrimage of Mecca. The sultan, suspecting the truth, sent word to his son, that he would excuse his rendering him this religious devoir at the head of an army; but
 seeing

seeing that the prince marched towards Constantinople, though the janissaries did not seem to think of joining him, he thought it high time to stop his son. We know not how it was, that the revolt did not then break out; it is certain that Bajazet opposed the enterprises of Selim with these same janissaries who would not have Achmet for their emperor. Perhaps those, who entered into this conspiracy, were not yet sufficiently sure of the soldiers. Be that as it may, The sultan met his son at a village called Ogris near Tchorlo: he commanded an army superior in number and courage. Selim was soon defeated; his father did not pursue him, and the prince retired to Varna with the broken remains of his army. We don't well know if this facility of saving his head from the chastisement that he merited, was owing to the clemency of Bajazet, or the love of the troops who refused to pursue him. It is certain, that the emperor had punished two other sons with more severity for less crimes.

The revolt of Selim, and the trouble that the sultan had been obliged to take to repress him, confirmed Bajazet in his resolution of abdicating the throne in favor of Achmet. But that timid prince preferred the repose of his seraglio, to the dangerous honor of governing a ferocious people, who made themselves formidable

J.C. 1511.
Heg. 917.

dable to their masters whenever they were at a loss to employ them against their enemies. Achmet, on his return to his sangiacate, wrote to The sultan, who pressed him to return to Constantinople, that, since the janissaries would not have him, he, in his turn, would not be their master against their consent. Korcut, Bajazet's second son, apparently ought to inherit the rights resigned by his brother; he had formerly governed the empire in the name of his father, and the Ottomans seemingly should have adopted him, rather than his brothers whom they did not know. He left Magnesia to come to Constantinople and claim this magnificent heritage; but since Achmet had refused the sceptre, the grand vizier, Mustapha, persuaded Bajazet, that he alone could support it in his hands. The emperor therefore no longer thought of abdicating. But the people and the janissaries, who always look upon the words of the sovereign as sacred, and who moreover did not love Bajazet, remembered that he had announced his resignation, and were so daring as to demand it aloud around the seraglio, and in all the streets of Constantinople. The vizier could think of no other way to revoke what appeared to be irrevocable, than having the emperor solicited by all the bashaws who composed the divan, to remain on his throne. The viziers, seraskiers, and bashaws of the ban
or

or three tails,* consented to what the grand vizier required of them; but the cries of the janissaries, and even of the people, cooled the zeal of these courtiers, who never durst publish their proceeding, and who even denied it when they were reproached with it. Korcut did not please the troops better than his brother Achmet; they would have Selim, who, all vanquished as he had been, appeared to them brave, enterprising, and made for conquests. The senberekchi bakchi set out for Caffa in Crimea, where Selim had retired on leaving Varna; he again pressed the prince to come and put himself at the head of the troops, all ready to place him on the throne and to maintain him thereon. Selim, taught by misfortune, would not trust to this first solicitation; he declared he would not again expose his enterprize and head to the hazard of a battle, and he combated by those who had promised him their assistance; that, in consequence, he should not appear in the environs of Constantinople, 'till he were sure, not only of all the janissaries quartered in the city, but even of all the

J.C. 1511.
Heg. 917.

The janissaries press Selim to make new efforts. Proceedings of Korcut for the same purpose.

* All these titles are nearly the same. The rank of bashaw of three tails gives entrance to the divan. The seraskiers are bashaws of three tails. The beglerbeg is a bashaw of two tails, and he commands, not only the army where he is, but the troops that may be in the same province, commanded by other bashaws subordinate to him. There are but two seraskiers, the one of Asia, the other of Europe. This title, which gives likewise superiority over all the troops, has no function but when the emperor pleases. The bashaws of two and one tail are not admitted into the divan.

J.C. 1511. the garrisons in the European dominions. This
 Heg. 917. negociation took up much time, which Bajazet
 and his vizier might have turned to advantage;
 but they thought themselves so sure that Selim,
 weakened, would never think of repairing his
 losses, that they seemed only occupied about
 Korcut, whose underhand proceedings fatigued
 the minister, though the janissaries did not appear
 to relish him. At length Mustapha found means
 to send this ambitious, timid being to his fan-
 giacate, either by demonstrating to him the fatal
 consequences of a too great earnestness to reign,
 or promising that he should one day be preferred
 to his brothers.

J.C. 1512. Korcut was hardly gone, when they learned
 Heg. 918. that Selim was arrived, still under the pious pre-
 Selim ar- text of paying his respects to his father. He had
 rives before
 Constantinople, at brought no troops from Tartary; but all those
 the head of of the European governments joined his standard.
 the Euro-
 pean These news caused the greatest joy in the city,
 troops. and the greatest consternation in the seraglio.
 The janif- The janissaries of Constantinople marched in
 saries join arms to the camp of Selim, leaving Bajazet
 him. him, under the guard of the bostangis. The people
 exclaimed in the streets, that the glory of the
 empire was going to revive, whilst Bajazet and
 his divan were chilling with terror. This prince
 saw, that all resistance was useless; he sent his
 vizier to confer with his rebellious son. The mi-
 nister tried to move the heart of Selim, by asking
 him,

him, if he would have the sceptre or the life of his father. The prince answered respectfully in appearance; he assured him, that he did not want to reign; that he was come, only to talk with the emperor on the present government, the luxury and indolence of which appeared to him condemnable; and to hear the complaints of these brave janissaries who pined with impatience and grief to see the neighbours of the Ottoman empire become powerful by its weakness; that the sophi of Persia and the soudan of Egypt seized at their pleasure the places bordering on their dominions, whilst the valour of the Ottoman troops, and the conquests of Mahomet II. seemed to order his successor to conquer, in his turn, both Egypt and Persia; that the military spirit of the nation was on the decline; that it would even affect good order, and that Bajazet was not in safety on his throne. Selim refused to give the vizier any other explanation; he sent him back to Bajazet, more alarmed than ever.

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

Bajazet abdicates the throne, and sets out for his retreat at Didimotica.

The sultan, seeing his son, the people, and the army, all against him at the same time, thought only of resigning the sceptre, which so long had fatigued his hands. A dream, which he had in the midst of these contests, in which he fancied he saw the officers of the seraglio strip him of the royal ornaments to invest his son with them, appeared to this weak prince an order from

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

Heaven. As he could not choose his successor, he endeavoured to reconcile himself to him who became so against his will: he sent to Selim to say, that, since he thought himself more capable than his father of maintaining the glory of the Ottoman name, he was ready to surrender the empire to him. He demanded, only permission to retire to Didimotica with a considerable pension, and to carry with him those whom he should choose for companions of his retreat. Selim did not expect so little resistance; he entered Constantinople with a numerous guard; and when he had taken possession of all the posts, he humbly presented himself before him whom he had just dethroned; he proposed to him even to remain in the seraglio with his court and wives, whilst he, Selim, should inhabit the old seraglio. The sultan replied, that the same scabbard could not contain two swords; and he prepared for his retreat, with as much more haste, as he was importuned by the reiterated cries of the people and soldiers, who wished glory and long life to the emperor Selim.

Bajazet wished to leave Constantinople before his son was proclaimed emperor. Selim accompanied his father two leagues, conversing with him on the affairs of the empire. When they were arrived at the place of separation, Selim fell on his knees to Bajazet, asked his benediction, and paid him, for the last time, the profoundest

profoundest respect, after which the dethroned sultan departed, accompanied by some friends and a guard of spahis commanded by Iounoux bashaw. They had permitted this prince to be dethroned, without any one's having it in his power to say he had contributed to the revolution.

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

The new emperor, but just proclaimed at Constantinople, learned that his father increased his distance from the capital but by very easy journeys, that Iounoux bashaw, his conductor, had some correspondence with the spahis of Constantinople, and that the dethroned sultan had sent expresses to some towns through which he had no occasion to pass. The cruel Selim, without examining suspicions that might be without foundation, sent orders to a Jewish physician, whom he had sent with his father, to poison him. This sentence, or rather outrage, was executed immediately. The corpse was brought back in pomp to Constantinople, and interred in a mosque that Bajazet himself had founded.

Selim causes him to be poisoned on the road.

This prince died in the sixty-second year of his age, after a reign of thirty-two years. The Turkish historians say he loved the sciences, and protected the learned. These pretended sciences were confined to the idle conceits of judicial astrology, and an imperfect knowledge of the Arabic and Syriac languages. Bajazet II. timid and cruel, could not be otherwise than superstitious; he carried this weakness so far, that he

Character of Bajazet.

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

caused the dust of his shoes and clothes to be saved during his whole reign, in order to compose a lump which was buried with him. He flattered himself with redeeming his frequent transgressions of the law of Mahomet by it, with which he reproached himself at times, especially the prohibition of drinking wine. He was a notorious sot, and would often have his most intimate confidants put to death in his fits of frenzy caused by the wine. He joined even cruelty to his superstitious actions. One day he passed through a village, between Constantinople and Adrianople, washed by a river, which, often overflowing its banks, rendered the passage exceedingly dangerous. A fangiac of an inferior rank, but very rich, had constructed, at a great expence, in this place, a bridge for the safety of travellers and the good of his soul; for all the Mussulmen firmly believe, that benevolent actions are recompensed a hundred fold in the other life. Bajazet ordered the fangiac to be immediately brought him, and offered to give him the price of his bridge, on condition of having the merit of the action transferred to him. The fangiac constantly refused, saying, that the recompenses of Paradise were preferable to the praise and favors of men. The emperor, persuaded, as all the Mussulmen, that the merits of good works could be transferred like sums of money and all other temporal rights, insisted strongly

strongly on his request being complied with, but J.C. 1512.
Heg. 912. always in vain. Bajazet, enraged, ordered the unfortunate sangiac to be immediately strangled, after which he swam across the river, and the troops which followed him did the same. But whatever desire he might have to destroy the bridge, he never did it, for fear of meriting punishment in the other life, in proportion as the sangiac merited favor. Bajazet built several mosques: the most useful thing he did during his reign, was the repairing of the walls of Constantinople, which had been almost destroyed by a violent earthquake in 1509; it lasted ten days, and destroyed thirteen thousand persons under the ruins of a vast number of edifices.

S E L I M I.

NINTH REIGN.

AS soon as Selim had attained the throne, he determined to get rid of those who might one day dispute it with him. In vain did Mustapha, the grand vizier whom he had chosen, tell him, that he had nothing to fear from either of his brothers; that the pacific Achmet had been disgusted with the throne at the first obstacle; that Korcut, still more timid, had not even returned

Selim
shews him-
self cruel
on ascend-
ing the
throne.

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

turned to Magnesia, for fear of giving offence to his brother; that he had assisted at his proclamation and entry into Constantinople, and had publicly declared himself his premier subject. Selim, who did not conceive that any man could voluntarily renounce a throne, answered his vizier, what he often repeated afterward, that, in order to reign with pleasure, a prince must reign without fear. His sentiments, and particularly his actions, made him merit the surname of Yacuz, which signifies Ferocious. He was forty-five years old when he became emperor of the Turks. We cannot conceive, how this fiery and sanguinary character had remained so long in repose. In haste to march against Achmet, he granted the janissaries the augmentation of pay which they had in vain demanded of his eldest brother, when Bajazet II. proposed to resign the sceptre to him. This refusal had been the first cause of the misfortunes of the two princes.

He pursues
the blood
of his two
brothers.
Korcut,
who hides
himself, is
surprised &
strangled.

The eldest of the Ottoman house having learned, that, notwithstanding his love of peace, the usurper was determined to smother his rights in his blood, prepared to sell both dearly. He went to the mountains of Armenia to solicit succours of the sovereigns of that country, and even of the king of Persia, whilst his brother Korcut, less courageous, was wandering from cavern to cavern, trying to bury his existence in the

the profoundest obscurity. Selim was too much interested in his discovery, not to exert every effort. The unfortunate Korcut was betrayed, and his brother had him strangled before he marched against Achmet. After this first sacrifice to his safety, he sent a small force to Amasia, in order to arrest the two sons of Achmet, as yet in their infancy. The vizier Mustapha, touched with compassion, caused the governors of these princes to be secretly advertised of it, who had time to call some of their father's servants to their assistance. They attended, well armed, the bashaw who was to surprise them, and executed on him the lot that he intended for them. The sultan, having learned the death of his bashaw, and that his two victims were retired, the one to the soudan of Egypt, the other to the king of Persia, soon discovered by what means they had escaped. The grand vizier Mustapha paid with his head for this pretended treason. This was not the only one that the emperor had to punish. Several officers of his army wrote to prince Achmet to march as soon as possible against his brother, without waiting for all the reinforcements which the king of Persia gave him hopes of. They promised to declare themselves in his favor at the first action, and to turn against Selim the corps that they should command in his army. The sultan having intercepted these letters, and noticed their contents, carefully forwarded them

J.C 1512.
Heg. 918.

J.C. 1512.
Heg. 918.

Achmet is
vanquished
at the head
of fifteen
thousand
men, and
strangled
on the field
of battle.

to him. Before he put their authors to death, he obliged them, by force of torments, to write still more pressingly to his brother. Achmet, deceived, hastened his arrival in Natolia at the head of fifteen thousand men only. He placed his firmest hopes in the resources that he thought to have in the army of his brother; but he learned, when it was too late, that all his friends had been discovered and punished. The two armies arrived in presence of each other: Achmet's, though on a single line, seemed to present the two flanks to be enveloped; for Selim, who had all the forces of Asia and part of those of Europe with him, had caused all the back parts and narrow passes, by which the enemy might escape, to be guarded. In this extremity, Achmet proposed to his brother to terminate their quarrel by single combat, in order to spare the blood of their subjects. But Selim was determined to vanquish, and not expose himself; he chose rather to oppose a hundred and fifty thousand men against fifteen thousand, than run the risk of an equal combat. Achmet's little army was cut in pieces; himself having had a horse killed under him, and being very corpulent, he could not disengage himself from the expiring animal; he was taken after having received some wounds, and his brother had him strangled on the field of battle.

This

This was not all the blood that Selim thought himself interested in shedding. The two sons of Achmet who had fled for refuge to Persia and Egypt, excited his inquietude, and furnished him with a plausible pretext to arm against two powerful neighbours. The sultan, in order not to have too many enemies at a time, was willing to confirm the ancient treaties with the European powers. He sent ambassadors to Venice and the king of Hungary, as it was highly requisite for him to prevent an attack in Europe, whilst he should be setting Asia on fire, and particularly to preserve the liberty of the sea. As it was yet doubtful which of the two powers Selim would attack first, the king of Persia sent him an embassy to treat of the interests of Solyman, the eldest son of the strangled prince Achmet. Among the presents, customary on such occasions, the Persians presented, for the first time, the new Alcoran corrected by their second prophet, and a lion of an uncommon size. Selim, whom the object of this embassy displeased, made the presents which accompanied it a pretext for giving vent to his hatred. He sent in his turn ambassadors to carry as presents to the king of Persia the ancient Alcoran and the Sunna, which the followers of Ali don't admit. The ambassadors were likewise charged to present the Persian monarch with two large mastiffs, assuring him, that

J.C. 1513.
Heg. 919.

Selim meditates a war with the Persians.

J.C. 1513.
Heg. 919. that these mastiffs, well trained, strangled the
most terrible lions.

After these symbolical declarations, the two princes thought only of arming against each other. Ishmael's kingdom contained, at that time, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and the further Armenia. Nevertheless, his forces were not comparable to those of the Ottomans. Ishmael could raise a hundred thousand horse, but all this cavalry was not equally well disciplined; besides, the Persians did not understand fighting on foot, and wanted gunners and cannon. Their principal defence consisted in the extent and aridity of their deserts. For several days journey beyond the frontiers, the road was over burning sands, where there were neither houses, nor provisions, nor forage; no water any where, and no shelter from the scorching heat of the sun, but by clouds of sand raised by the wind, which blinded the travellers and horses. The mountains of Armenia, a country as arid as the frontiers of Persia, separated this state from the Ottoman empire; several tributary sovereigns divided, at that time, this poor province.

Aliadoulet, the most considerable of them, though the friend of the Turks, refused to join his troops to Selim's; he offered him only a passage, which his weakness did not permit him to refuse. He promised likewise for his army all the provisions that this wretched country should be
able

able to furnish; but his promises were far from sincere. Aliadoulet, whose estates were not separated from the Ottoman empire, as they were from the kingdom of Persia, by impracticable deserts, was much more afraid of Selim than Ithmael. All his hopes therefore were to see the Turks overcome. The Turkish emperor carried two hundred and thirty thousand men to Persia; but, in such a distressing march, scarcity and the intemperature of the air were sufficient to destroy the finest army.

The Turks advanced along the borders of the Euphrates, and sent on scouts before to examine the country and see if the Persians were coming towards them. They informed Selim that the few inhabitants of this sterile country had abandoned it, after having burnt their cottages and even the herbs that grew around; and that all the wells were empoisoned or filled up. On this report, Camden, the new vizier, strongly opposed the army's entering these impracticable deserts, maintaining, that there would be too much disadvantage to make an offensive war in such a country: if the Persian comes to us, said Camden, he will not arrive 'till he has seen three parts of his troops perish. If he wait for you in his best provinces, will you engage on an equal footing, when fatigue and famine shall have destroyed half your army? Will your remaining soldiers be capable of vanquishing fresh and numerous troops? This ad-

J.C. 1513.
Heg. 919.

J.C. 1514.
Heg. 920.

He marches against them in the deserts, contrary to the advice of his vizier whom he causes to be strangled. He loses a number of soldiers in his march & in the battle that he has with the Persians near Tauris; the field of battle is left him.

J.C. 1514.
Heg. 920.

vice, too sage to be adopted by a prince who would have nothing resist him, was strongly opposed by all those who had interest to please. Camden, too prudent for the public good, was not sufficiently so for his own; his enemies ruined him with the emperor, who caused to be strangled, as a traitor, the only man who had dared tell him salutary truths.

Selim entered the deserts of Persia, relying upon the provisions promised him by Aliadoulet, king of Armenia, and on what he should procure from his own country. But the Armenians, far from furnishing him with succours, intercepted the convoys which passed through their territories; so that, in less than six days, this numerous army was reduced to the sole resource of some bitter fruits, which soon caused a general dysentery. The sultan was obliged to keep along the borders of the Euphrates, for fear of wanting water; but the famine which devoured his army, excited murmurs, and announced to him an approaching revolt, when they learned that the Persians were coming to engage them. Though the army was already diminished one-third, this report restored courage to the soldiers. They were told that the Persians, much less numerous than themselves, had in their retinue a great abundance and immense riches. And indeed, this army, composed entirely of cavalry, had brought provisions on a multitude of camels. Nay, they wer

were told, that gold and precious stones sparkled J.C. 1514.
Heg. 920. every where among the Persians. The Turks thought themselves already in possession of these riches, and considered the enemy's army, less as an obstacle to their conquest, than as a certain occasion of enriching themselves. It was composed only of forty thousand horse, but under the exactest discipline, and keeping the finest order. The Persians were armed with cimeters, arrows, and clubs; for, as we have already said, they did not yet know how to found cannon. The two monarchs longed to engage. They joined near Tauris, the first Persian town in the plain of Calderan.

The famished Turks were not less desirous than their emperor of coming to action. As soon as Selim saw the Persians in sight, he sent and summoned them to give up Solyman; on their refusal, he ranged his troops in order of battle, always placing in the front the corps on which he least depended, reserving his spahis, janissaries, and artillery, for the moment, when the Persians, drunk with carnage, should think themselves victorious. The policy of the Turks, particularly that of Selim, did not sufficiently value human blood. This prince, without considering that a man taken at hazard may become a brave warrior by long usage and strict discipline, thinking still less, that the man who is but an indifferent soldier, may be useful in cultivating land

L.C. 1514.
Heg. 920.

land and for population, saw only in the multitude of national forces, levied in haste to increase his army, victims whom he offered to the dangers of war, whilst he reserved his good troops for important occasions. In effect, at the battle of Tauris, the Persians at first made a great slaughter; but when their squadrons separated to pursue those who fled, the janissaries and spahis fell in order on their dispersed troops. The artillery of the Turks, well served, reached them at a great distance. The squadrons being broken, the spahis took advantage of the disorder, and attacked, with their long lances, those who had lost their ranks. Never was there a more bloody battle; the Persians did not flee 'till after having seen sixteen thousand of their troops perish. They had killed more than forty thousand of the Turks; but this immense loss did not prevent Selim's gaining the day. He charged at the head of the janissaries; the efforts of this brave soldiery decided the victory. The troops were too much fatigued to pursue those who fled, and indeed, it would have been dangerous to engage in deserts full of rocks and defilés against national troops.

The Turks, after having loaded themselves with booty, entered the town of Tauris, which made no resistance. At first the spoils dazzled the vanquishers; they saw nothing on the field of battle but arms well wrought, incrustated with gold

gold, and ornamented with precious stones, tents <sup>J.C. 1514.
Heg. 920.</sup> lined with the finest silks, rich clothes, women of uncommon beauty, who had followed their husbands or masters to the war, and frightened horses, covered with the superbest trappings, brought back by hunger to the places where they saw men. These riches and the pillage of Tauris occupied for some time the avidity of the Turks; but all the gold and pearls of the East could not furnish them with sustenance; the scarcity became more and more dreadful. These conquerors, loaded with booty, who saw their army more than half reduced, after having a long time combated hunger, were afraid of sinking under it themselves.

When the sultan gave out that he meant to penetrate into Persia to seek provisions, the revolt became general; the principal officers of the janissaries and spahis declared, that they could not answer for their troops, and that, if he would be obeyed, he must turn back.

The imperious Selim dreaded the consequences of his obstinacy: convinced of the impossibility of penetrating into Persia at the head of an army of which he was no longer master, he retook the road to Armenia, deferring the punishment of the mutineers 'till circumstances should furnish him with an opportunity: his thoughts were employed on another project of vengeance.

Selim, who wanted to penetrate into Persia, is obliged to turn back for fear of a mutiny

King

J.C. 1514.
Heg. 920.

King Aliadoulet, who, after having promised to furnish the sultan's army on the confines of Persia with provisions, had, on the contrary, intercepted the convoys which he drew from his own dominions, was become the object of Selim's resentment. Moreover, his projects on Persia seemed to require him to conquer Armenia, which was nearer the Ottoman empire, less arid than the country on which it borders, and the conquest of which should necessarily render easier the invasion that he meditated in the empire of the sophi; but his army had never had so much want of repose; he crossed Armenia without committing any act of hostility, and returned to his own dominions for winter quarters.

J.C. 1515.
Heg. 921.

He raises
new levies
during the
winter.

The emperor employed himself, during this interval, in repairing the immense losses that his victories had caused him. And indeed, the exact review of his army convinced him, that he had paid too dearly for very trifling advantages: he raised new levies, and employed in disciplining his troops the time intended for their repose. The mountainous and difficult province of Armenia became a necessary barrier to obtain. The kingdom of Aliadoulet comprehended mount Taurus, and a long chain of other mountains extending from the confines of Amasia to mount Amant, and to the further extremities of Caramania. These people, who inhabited only simple cottages, were more proper for pillaging than fighting. By the

the course of time, necessity had united them, and they had elected a king for all these mountains, the pastures of which nourished a great number of wild animals, particularly horses well formed to bear fatigue. J.C 1515.
Heg. 921.

Selim took the field in the beginning of the spring. Aliadoulet assembled the few soldiers that he could oppose to this numerous army, and who were apparently sufficient to guard defilés with.

Fifteen thousand horse, and about the same number of infantry, composed all the Armenian forces. Their military talents were confined to climbing mountains with agility, in order to get out of the reach of the enemy, or attacking troops inferior in number. The sultan soon repented of having brought two hundred thousand men to a war, where he could not employ fifty thousand : in this situation he resolved to remain encamped on the confines of Armenia, and send his best troops against these mountaineers, whom it was requisite to pursue rather than to fight. He detached Sinan bashaw with forty thousand men, twenty thousand of which were spahis, and twenty thousand janissaries. These last attacked the defilés, and soon succeeded in routing men who neither kept their ranks nor fought together. The remainder of the campaign became a continual chase. The caverns and tops of mountains were the only places of defence that these fugitive people had. They burnt their cottages

Selim makes himself master of the dominions of Aliadoulet, & has both him and his children put to death.

J.C. 1515.
Heg. 921.

and desolated the country, in order to render it impracticable for an army; but the perseverance and bravery of the Turkish soldiers overcame the agility of the Armenians. In less than six weeks, which the fatigue and famine rendered very distressing, they destroyed all Aliadoulet's army. This prince himself was surprised in a cavern with all his children; they were conducted before Selim, who, after having reproached him with his perfidy, caused all this unfortunate family to be put to death.

The emperor reduced all the conquered country to the subjection of Alibeg, a Persian lord who had put himself under the protection of the Porte; but he made him king only of a desert. He distributed a number of timars in this desolated country, of which the pasture and horses had hitherto made the principal riches. In the project which Selim had always had of conquering Persia, it was highly requisite for him to render Armenia fertile, as much to assist the Turkish armies, who would have to traverse arid deserts, as to repeople by degrees this vast country, where nature seemed to be more miserable than elsewhere. But the warlike Ottomans count less the number of men, than the extent of the country that they reduce, and the timars which they distribute in their conquests continue in the same devastation as the army leaves them; these
precarious

precarious possessions are an obstacle to the fertility of the country.

J.C. 1515.
Heg. 921.

The destruction of Armenia had cost the sultan but few soldiers and little time. His troops were quite fresh: and being master of the country in his rear, he thought he could enter Persia at a much greater advantage than the preceding year. But, as soon as the janissaries knew his design, they all exclaimed, that they would not return to these arid sands, where they had only to war with famine and the elements. The spahis refused to mount their horses, unless it were to return to Europe; at length the most absolute of monarchs saw himself constrained to obey his army. The news of the death of Solyman, the son of Achmet, who, as we have seen, had found an asylum in Persia, and had raised up that nation against the murderer of his father, did not console Selim for the disobedience of his army. This prince was greatly exasperated, because, during the cries of rebellion, he had heard the name of his son Solyman mentioned. The example which he himself had given the heir to the throne, threw him into the greatest perplexity. After the dispersion of the army, the greatest part of which he left in Asia, the emperor returned to his seraglio at Constantinople, which he fortified every way by several batteries; the janissaries that were to enter the city he brought across the sea, and then

He tries in vain to carry his troops to Persia. On his return to Constantinople, he punishes the principal authors of this disobedience.

J.C. 1515.
Heg. 921.

left them outside the gates, declaring, that he no longer regarded them but as rebels. This conduct had more effect on these troops, than if Selim had undertaken to punish them. They saw themselves outside the walls, without pay, and without vessels to repass the straits. The eyes of the divan were open on their proceedings: they had not Solyman to place at their head; the fire of the rebellion was extinguished. They presented themselves in great number at the gates of Constantinople with white rods in their hands, the only arms that they bore, and which they still carry during peace, crying mercy, and asking forgiveness. This was precisely what Selim had expected. The janissaries soon offered to deliver to the emperor those who had encouraged them to revolt. On the hopes that Sinan bashaw gave them that the sultan might be prevailed on to pardon their mutiny, they brought the same day several of their chiefs, loaded with chains, who were beheaded before the gates of the city. After some executions of this kind, Selim permitted the janissaries to return to their odas, and caused their usual pay to be distributed to them. Prince Solyman, who had been for some time believed the soul of this faction, though he was not with the army, went and justified himself to the emperor, who only wished to be assured of his innocence.

Selim,

Selim, without going out of his seraglio, wrested a province from the Persians. The people of Mesopotamia, now called Diarbekar, were in subjection to the king of Persia. They had received the ancient Alcoran under the government of the Abbasian caliphs, and Ishmael was tormenting them with the new opinions of the sect of Ali. These people, become miserable, thought they could shake off a yoke imposed on them by a foreign garrison; they plotted in silence, after which they wrote to the Turkish emperor, that, if his highness would receive the Diarbekarians under his protection, and permit them to choose a prince who should pay him tribute and acknowledge him for high sovereign, they only asked his approbation, to drive out the Persians. This proposition appeared so favorable to Selim, that for some time he had a suspicion of its concealing a snare; but he soon learned, that the people of the Diarbekar, in attending his answer, had executed their project. Those, who were at the head of this conspiracy, had counterfeited the seal of the king of Persia, and conveyed to the satrap, who commanded the troops, a false order to retire with all his garrison to the confines of another province, for operations which the sophi would explain to him himself. The satrap obeyed, leaving in the capital and the other places a very small number of soldiers. As soon as the Diarbekarians knew that

J.C. 1516.
Heg. 922.

The Diarbekarians shake off the Persian yoke, and attach themselves to the Ottoman empire, under the sceptre of a tributary prince.

J.C. 1516.
Heg. 922.

that their oppressors were at a distance, they slaughtered the feeble garrison which was left them; they chose from among them a prince called Mahomet-Beg, and declared themselves tributary to the Ottoman empire. Karakhan (that was the name of the Persian satrap) having discovered the imposition, endeavoured to recover the Diarbekar by force; but the troops which had been sufficiently strong to oppress this province and keep it in obedience to the Persian, were not enough to recover it. The war became bloody, but always to the advantage of the rebels. The following year, the emperor of the Turks furnished his new subjects with succours, which assisted them in driving out entirely those whom they regarded as their tyrants, and which irrevocably attached them to the Ottoman power.

Selim has
a mind to
extermi-
nate the
Christians.
His minis-
ters find
means to
dissuade
him from
it.

Selim believed himself indebted to religion for this conquest, without considering, that it was the persecution of the Persians, rather than the Sunna, which had brought it under his government. In order to thank God for his success, he resolved to persecute in his name. We have observed, that at the taking of Constantinople, Mahomet II. reserved the churches of one entire quarter for the worship of the Christians. The sultan saw with grief these stone edifices, so rare at Constantinople, occupied by those whom he called Infidels; he was irritated,
that,

that, under his eyes, a people of slaves should dare shew a horror for his prophet, and treat him as an impostor. In a fit of zeal, he sent for the musti or chief of the religion. After the emperor, this is the person most revered in the empire. Whenever the monarch wants to make some considerable change, he procures a sentence from this priest, called a fetfa, because, as there is no other written law in Turkey than the Alcoran, the fetfa, which passes for an interpretation of this pretended divine book, gives a mark of divinity to the edict of the prince. Selim publicly demanded of the musti, which would be most agreeable to God, to conquer all the Christian territories, and to procure, by imposts, the riches of these Infidels, in order to apply them to the glory of Islamism, or to convert to the Mahometan faith a great number of these abused wretches. The chief of the religion replied, without hesitating, that, as the Christians could not hope for salvation in the law of Jesus Christ, it would be much more meritorious before God, to convert several of them to the truth and to the lawful worship, than to oppress the whole. Then the emperor, sending for the caimacan, or grand vizier's lieutenant, in that quality governor of Constantinople, ordered him to take immediately all the churches from the Christians, convert them into mosques, and publish in Constantinople, that all the followers of Jesus Christ were to
get

J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.

J.C. 1517. get themselves circumcised and take the turban
Heg. 923. within a limited time, upon pain of death.

Selim left Constantinople immediately, in order to give the caimacan an opportunity of executing his orders, for this officer has no authority in the city but in the absence of the grand seignior. This decree, visibly contrary to the letter, even to the meaning of the Alcoran, greatly afflicted the viziers and the musti, who never had dreamed that an improper use would be made of his fetfa, but who was not sufficiently courageous to explain it. The grand vizier Ali bashaw was sensible how prejudicial this false zeal would be to the state, by the quantity of blood that it would cause to be spilt, and the number of Greek and Latin Christians, all creditable merchants or industrious artisans, whom it would oblige to leave the empire. Ali bashaw secretly directed the Greek patriarch, how to conduct himself when the caimacan should signify the grand seignior's order to him. This patriarch, who, as we have seen, received from the emperor the investiture of his church, by the pastoral staff and the ring, replied to the chiau, charged with the execution, that he appealed from the order of the caimacan to his highness himself.

The musti, consulted on this answer, assured Selim, who was at that time at Adrianople, that he could not refuse to hear the patriarch. The latter

latter was sent for and introduced into the divan, <sup>J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.</sup> accompanied by several Greek priests, in presence of the musti and all the bashaws of the bench. After having bowed three times to the earth at the foot of the throne, he said, with a modest, confident tone, that the order signified to the Christians had been surpris'd from his highness, since it wounded the justice and text of the Alcoran; that at the time of the taking of Constantinople, Mahomet II. the grandfather of the emperor, had solemnly permitted the Greeks the free exercise of their religion, provided they paid tribute; that he had granted them the exclusive right of all the churches which they still possessed in virtue of this royal grant; that with respect to the apostacy required of all the Christians, it was not only contrary to the promise of Mahomet II. but manifestly interdicted by the text of the Alcoran, of which he quoted the words: *That no one shall be forced to follow the religion of Mahomet from the time that he shall have attained the age of discretion, provided he pays annually, by way of tribute, thirteen drachms of pure silver.*

The patriarch having called the musti to witness the accuracy of the quotation and the true meaning of the words, the desterdar effendi, who was his opposer, was obliged to acknowledge it; but he defied the patriarch to shew the act which ceded the propriety of the churches to him. The prelate acknowledged, that the paper

M m

demanded

J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.
 demanded had been consumed in a fire, but he produced three janissaries, each more than a hundred years old, who affirmed their having been witnesses of the promise made by Mahomet II. Notwithstanding this testimony, the emperor, who envied the Christians their stone churches, ordered that they should be converted into mosques; that the Giaures* should preserve the free exercise of their religion, agreeably to the law of Mahomet, and that they should be at liberty to build churches of wood, to supply the loss of those that were taken from them.

War with
the Mammeluks.
Gauri,
their sultan, is
killed in a
battle
which he
loses near
Aleppo.

The martial Selim could not remain inactive. He was not ignorant of the danger of leaving his troops in that situation; besides, Egypt offered a vast field to his ambition. The soudan Gauri, sovereign of the Mammelukes, had, as well as the king of Persia, harboured one of the sons of Achmet. Though this prince was dead, as well as his brother, the sultan bore a much stronger resentment of it in his heart, because the revenge might be useful and glorious. The relation of the war, which overturned the throne of the Mammelukes, has been written by a Turk, an eye witness, who executed the office of cadilesker or provost in Selim's army. We shall principally follow this author, whose details appear to us to wear the face of truth.¶ The reader

* The Turks call all the Christians, Jews, and generally all those who are not Mussulmen, by this name.

¶ The manuscript is deposited in the king of France's library.

reader must remember that the Mahometan religion does not permit arms to be borne, without reason, against those of the same belief. A pretext therefore was necessary at least, for the grand seignior to attack the Mammeluke Mussulmen, Sunnites like the Turks, and he took care not to be wanting in that formality. The retreat of his nephew, who was lately dead in Egypt, could no longer serve his purpose; but, knowing there was a recent treaty between Persia and Egypt, he published, that he was going to make new efforts against the corrupters of the Mahometan law. He sent a considerable corps across the straits, who, under the orders of Sinan bashaw, took the road to Caramania. The Mammelukes, informed of this motion, not knowing whether the Turks intended to attack the Persians or them, marched a large body of cavalry towards Aleppo; this was what Selim wanted. On this intelligence, he made the musti speak, who, on the pretended doubts of the emperor, published a fetva, the sense of which was, that in all cases it is permitted to repel the aggressor. The sultan immediately placed himself at the head of an army, and, having passed the straits, hastened to join the troops commanded by Sinan bashaw. The two divisions when united formed a body of a hundred and fifty thousand men; this was three times as many as sultan Guari had, who conducted himself to the war a cavalry in good order and

J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.

J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.

well disciplined. Notwithstanding the smallness of his number, he could have manœuvred, with advantage, in a country intersected by rivulets and dikes, which the horses of the Mammelukes leaped easily. Some of Gauri's generals advised him to draw the numerous army of Selim, by continual retreats, into the deserts of Egypt, where they would have been insensibly destroyed by fatigue and famine. But the fatal destiny of the Egyptian monarch made him place his confidence in traitors; they persuaded him, that the address and agility of his horsemen would easily destroy heavy troops crowded upon one another. The sultan of Egypt offered battle in the plains of Aleppo to the Turkish emperor, who ardently wished to come to action: the first charges of the Mammelukes made great slaughter; they managed their horses in such a manner, that, after having succeeded in the thrusts they made, they eluded those of the enemy. The spahis, as brave as they, were neither so active nor well exercised; but the volleys of musket-shot of the janissaries soon caused this advantage to vanish. These infantry, by firing at the horses, were sure to dismount all that came in their way. The Mammelukes, on foot, no longer knew how to make use of their long lances, which became a burden in their hands. Caitbek and Gazelbek, two of sultan Gauri's lieutenants, who had in a manner obliged him to engage, deserted to the enemy, each

each at the head of the corps that he commanded. J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.
This perfidy decided the victory against the Mammelukes: their sovereign, overcome with grief and rage, precipitated himself, sword in hand, on the broken squadrons of the spahis, where he made a terrible carnage, loudly calling on Selim, who was directing elsewhere the attacks of the janissaries. At length the Egyptian monarch lost his powers; after having blunted his sword, his horse fell under him, overcome with fatigue and pierced with wounds. The unfortunate soudan, who had killed more than forty men with his own hand, died with fatigue and rage on the field of battle, without having received a single wound, as the Turks wanted to take him alive. The Turkish cannon completed the defeat. The Mammelukes escaped by flight, as it was too late for Selim to think of pursuing them. The field of battle was left him, covered with eleven thousand of the enemy; this victory cost the sultan only two thousand men, and procured him all Syria. The next morning, at break of day, the citizens of Aleppo carried the keys of their town to the vanquisher. Though Selim was such a barbarian, he conceived that clemency and justice would secure him his new conquest, much better than force of arms. These people, for near three hundred years, had groaned under the power of the Mammelukes, who regarded them only as slaves, enjoying the work of
their

J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.

their hands, of their commerce, and of their industry, without ever admitting to the offices of state, or even to the army, any but foreigners like themselves.

Selim enters Aleppo, and several other towns of Syria, rather as a pacific king than a conqueror.

The grand seignior, according to the usage of the Turks, ordered castans or precious vests to be distributed to the deputies of Aleppo. Having entered the town, he forbade, under severe pains, the committing of any disorder. The Friday he assisted at the mosque, where he heard himself publicly prayed for as sovereign of Syria. In a transport of gratitude, he loudly promised the Syrians to treat them always as his faithful subjects, and caused the iman who had pronounced the prayers, to be invested with a precious vest, even before he was come down from the pulpit. He distributed gratifications and alms to the priests and the indigent. This mildness, though affected, secured and multiplied his conquests. Tripoli, Baruth, Sidon, and Antioch, opened their gates and earnestly desired Ottoman garrisons. Selim advanced into Syria, as a peaceable king who takes possession of the throne which nature has given him, not like a conqueror. His troops seemed to honor his march rather than secure it. The inhabitants of Damascus sent deputies against their new master, who received them with the same favor as he had shewn to those of Aleppo. Their request was read twice in presence of the emperor, who granted

granted it without changing any thing, and he <sup>J.C. 1517.
Heg. 923.</sup> went to pass the winter in their city. The prince, wishing likewise to gain the affection of the people by exterior acts of religion, had hospitals built in the most considerable towns of Syria, and assigned lands for their support. He ordered prayers for the prosperity of his reign and the preservation of his conquests. He founded public schools, where children were to be brought up at the expence of the state: in fine, interest, which often subdues nature, made for some time a wise and gracious king of the ferocious Selim; but this change could not be of long duration.

The sultan, after having enjoyed his new sovereignty several months, meditated the conquest <sup>J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924.</sup> of another still more considerable. The Mamelukes, retired to the extremity of Egypt, seemed to wait for Selim to come and drive them out. Notwithstanding the severity of the winter, the emperor of the Turks prepared every thing for this conquest. As he was giving orders, in his council, for his march towards Palestine, one of his bashaws had the boldness to ask him, when he thought he should arrive at Grand Cairo. Selim, so popular among the Syrians, answered this indiscreet questioner: "That will be when it shall please God; but for thee, my will is, that thou remain here," and he immediately ordered him to be strangled. The Turks learned, before they

J.C. 1513.
Heg. 924.

they left Damascus, that the Mammelukes had elected a successor to the unfortunate Gauri. He was called Tumambei, and had been grand diador, or lieutenant general. The grand seignor immediately ordered a detachment, under the command of Sinan bashaw, to advance towards the town of Gaza, which is at the entrance of the isthmus of Egypt. As Sinan was waiting there for the rest of the army, fifteen thousand Mammelukes came to meet him, and encamped near Gaza. The misfortunes of these troops had not broken their courage: the Mammelukes, persuaded, that, so far, they had been overpowered only by number, thought themselves always superior by their valour and the celerity of their manœuvres. Sinan bashaw commanded, at the most, about thirteen thousand men, all janissaries or spahis, the choice of the Turkish army; not having less confidence than the Mammelukes, he resolved to go and fight them; he left his sick in Gaza, without a garrison, or even a guard, because he would not weaken the corps which he commanded, already inferior in number. He had hardly left the town, when the inhabitants of Gaza, persuaded that the Turks were retreating, unmercifully massacred their sick, and sent to the Mammeluke camp, to assure them, that the enemy fled before them. This intelligence was presently contradicted by Sinan bashaw's army appearing in sight. The Mammelukes, who had not their soudan at their

Sinan bashaw defeats a corps of Mammelukes near Gaza.

their head, prepared however to give the enemy a good reception. The two armies were in battle in an instant, and engaged with equal fury; the victory was a long time doubtful; each corps gave ground and rallied by turns. The Mammelukes approached the battalions of janissaries amidst a smart fire of musket shot; they knocked the infantry on the head with their clubs, always exposed to the cavalry; but battalions well closed, thick set with pikes, and from the middle of which issued a continual fire, must needs vanquish in the end light unsteady troops, whose attacks were more uncertain, and who presented more front to the enemy. The artillery augmented the slaughter; the lances of the spahis pierced all those that the janissaries had thrown into disorder; the despair of the Mammelukes exposed them a long time to the cruelty of their vanquishers. At length, after having lost three parts of their army, they abandoned the field of battle to the Turks, who had purchased the victory by the blood of two thousand janissaries, a thousand spahis, and a great many brave chiefs. Sinan bashaw passed the end of the day and the night in raising trophies. The heads of the vanquished fixed on palm trees, and their arms heaped in pyramids, offered an agreeable spectacle to these barbarians, whose arms had destroyed so many of the human species.

At

N n

J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924.

At break of day they returned to Gaza. This town was not in a situation to make the least resistance. The bashaw revenged, by sacking their town, the blood of the small number of sick that the Egyptians had massacred. The Turks found a great deal of riches there. The operations of the campaign, which were but just commenced, not leaving them the time to sell or carry their slaves away with them, they massacred all those from whom they could not reap any benefit, and remained in this town, become a desert, to wait for the main body of the army. Selim learned that he was vanquisher before he had begun the campaign; this success whetting his courage, he hastened to take the different corps from their quarters, in order to join a fresh army to victorious troops. During the march from Damascus to Gaza, the emperor, either through curiosity, or a desire of displaying to the eyes of the people exterior practices of religion, resolved to visit Jerusalem: he went thither at the head of a feeble escort, not being afraid of a surprise in a country which the Mammelukes had abandoned. He performed a number of religious acts in this Holy city, revered almost as much by the Mahometans as the Christians. The mosque, called the temple of Solomon, was the principal object of his curiosity. Selim sacrificed a sheep there; he distributed a great many alms during the three days that he passed at Jerusalem, after which he went

Selim goes to Jerusalem; he joins the rest of his army and conducts it to Egypt.

went and rejoined his army a little way from Gaza. Sinan bashaw received his emperor at the gates of this ruined town, at the head of the troops with which he had gained the battle. The sultan loaded his general, and those who accompanied him, with the encomiums that their victory merited. He established his quarters in Gaza, and, a few days after, reviewed his army, which he found full of impatience to penetrate into Egypt. The road from Gaza to Grand Cairo is one continued loose, sandy, burning soil, almost impracticable for an army, on account of the clouds of dust which the march of the soldiers must necessarily raise in the air, which blinds the men and horses, stops the respiration, and corrupts the provisions, which are moreover exceedingly scarce in the deserts of Africa; the small quantity of rain which falls, not being sufficient always to fill some cisterns, the sole resource of travellers. But nature seemed to conspire for Selim. Ever since the arrival of the Ottoman army in the plains of Gaza, a plentiful rain had beaten down the clouds of sand, consolidated the earth, and furnished a quantity of water sufficient for the march of the army. The freshness of the air had tempered the rays of the sun; thus this march, which had been expected to be fatal to the weakest, and trying for all, was but a play for soldiers already vanquishers, and who expected to march to certain conquests. On the arrival

J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924.

J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924.

of the Turks within six miles of Grand Cairo, near a place called Ridania, in a large, level plain, they met the army of Tumambei. The soudan commanded forty thousand Mammelukes, the remains of that brave foldiery, whom misfortune only irritated, and who were determined to recover Egypt, or perish in the attempt. Gazeli, the lieutenant of the Mammelukes, who had commanded at the last defeat, longed to revenge his disaster, and repair the honor of his arms.

He meets
the Mam-
melukes.
Battle of
Ridania
where the
latter are
defeated.

The largeness of the place permitting what order of battle the two armies might like, the Mammelukes, who expected victory only from their despair, attacked all together in a single rank and with one common effort. The first onset was terrible and advantageous for the Mammelukes, as it had been in almost all their battles. Tumambei's orders were, to strike at all the chiefs of the troops and the officers of distinction. In the beginning of the battle, the brave Sinan bashaw perished by the hands of Gazeli; but his blood was dearly purchased by the Mammelukes. The janissaries, penetrated with grief at seeing their general fall, eagerly endeavoured to revenge him. Without entering into particulars on which historians always differ, we shall content ourselves with saying, that, after a terrible slaughter on both sides, Tumambei ordered the retreat to be sounded in order to save the last hope of the Mammelukes; that this re-
treat

treat was made with more order than could have ^{J.C. 1518.}
 been expected from a beaten army, though he ^{Heg. 924.}
 left on the field of battle the few pieces of cannon
 that he had, which the Mammelukes had never
 well known the use of. The implacable Selim
 ordered all the wounded to be massacred, sacri-
 ficing them, as he said, to the manes of Sinan
 bashaw, and he passed the night on the field of
 battle in order to enjoy this bloody spectacle.

Meanwhile, Tumambei retired to Grand Cairo; ^{They flee}
 but to add to the disgrace, this town, without ^{to Grand}
 walls or ditches, offered only a heap of defence- ^{Cairo.}
 less houses. The losses which the Mammelukes ^{Sack of the}
 had just had, left them but little hope; they had ^{city.}
 only to perish with their empire, and find an
 honorable sepulchre in the principal town of their
 dominions. They resolved to form barricades at
 the entrance of every street, to fortify themselves
 in the houses, and to dig ditches which they
 filled with stakes sharpened and pointed with
 iron, covered over slightly, which formed snares,
 into which whole battalions might tumble with-
 out having perceived them. The citizens, the
 slaves, the sons of the Mammelukes, even the
 women, all were become soldiers. The Turks
 thought to enter easily a town without defence;
 but they had never found any where a more ob-
 stinate resistance than in the streets of Grand
 Cairo; they entered the city without having an
 idea of the sort of combat to which they were
 going

J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924.

going to be exposed. The brave Mammelukes, who no longer thought of defending their lives, fought like desperate men; every thing became arms in their hands, whilst the citizens, from the windows and tops of the houses, threw down on the Turks, stones, tiles, utensils, iron work, in short every thing they were capable of rolling on the enemy, and poured on them floods of boiling oil. They fought in the streets in this manner for three days and three nights, the Mammelukes not fearing to expose themselves to death, provided they could succeed in giving it. The vanquishers offered quarter, but they were answered only by blows with clubs. Selim saw two bashaws crushed to pieces by his side with large stones, on which he ordered the town to be set on fire. The order was executed in several places at the same instant. This alone was capable of augmenting the consternation and slaughter. Whilst the Egyptians were vainly endeavouring to extinguish the fire, precipitating themselves from the middle of the flames into the streets, and every where meeting death in trying to avoid it, the remains of the Mammelukes escaped from a place which they could no longer defend. They carried with them their king, passed the Nile, and went to the number of five thousand men to intrench themselves in the country of Saretta. Selim, master of Grand Cairo, was not equally so of the flames, which consumed

sumed whole streets under his eyes, spite of all his efforts to extinguish them. When he had at length reduced Grand Cairo, ruined and deserted, under his power, it was requisite to complete the conquest of the Mammelukes, who still existed in a corner of Egypt. He sent to summon Tumambei to surrender, promising him the sangiacate of Grand Cairo, and all his people their lives.

J.C. 1514.
Heg. 928.

The Mammelukes, who had no dependance on the promises of the Turkish emperor, and full of resentment for all his cruelties, caused the two chiaus, whom he had sent to them, to be strangled. The news of this violation of the law of nations was a pretext for Selim to give himself up to all his barbarity. But, not choosing to go in person against a handful of desperate fellows, he sent twenty thousand men, spahis and janissaries, under the command of the vizier Mustapha Kirlou, to force their intrenchments. This last combat was as obstinate as those that had preceded it. The Mammelukes, after having sold dearly their lives, were almost all left dead on the field of battle. Tumambei threw down his arms and fled in disguise. The Turks, who fancied he could never be defeated 'till they should have taken his life, employed every mean to discover him. After four days and four nights search, he was betrayed for a sum of money; some janissaries took him in a morass, where he had hidden himself among the bulrushes. This

unfortunate

Selim has
the rest of
the Mam-
melukes
pursued.
Their sou-
dan is ta-
ken and
put to
death.

J.C. 1518.
Heg. 924. } unfortunate prince was dragged to Grand Cairo; his sight caused an excessive joy throughout the army. Selim ordered him, who, a month before, was the sovereign of this city, as opulent and populous as it was then ruined and deserted, to be conducted all over Grand Cairo on an old mule. This brave prince, after having been exposed a long time to the insults of the soldiery, was hanged in the middle of his capital. The sultan set a price on the heads of the remaining Mammelukes, and had all those that were brought to him massacred without mercy.

J.C. 1519.
Heg. 925. } After this slaughter, Selim marched towards Alexandria, which opened its gates, before even the grand seignior had caused them to be summoned. All Egypt followed the example. Nothing was seen throughout but a people who submitted to the conqueror. Thus ended the empire of the Mammelukes, respected in Africa and Asia for near three hundred years. The different interests of these foreign masters and the natives should seemingly have extinguished it sooner. A people entire, subject to another people, must needs hate a multitude of despots nourished by the labour of those whom they continually oppressed. Selim found in Egypt a phantom of a caliph, whom the Mammeluke foudans had established there. He was of the illustrious race of the Abbassians. This pretended chief of the Mussulman religion, though revered
by

by the Egyptians, as the successor of the successors of Mahomet, had not even the appearance of power. All these advantages were confined to an outward pageantry, and some considerable marks of respect which he received from all the Mussulmen. The grand seignior, after having enjoyed his new conquest several months, conducted the pretended caliph to Constantinople, where he entertained him at the expence of the public treasure; this prince was neither dangerous by his pretensions nor his resources. The emperors, having no interest to get rid of him, permitted him to bear his title of caliph, for the remainder of his life, both at Constantinople and Grand Cairo, where he returned after the death of Selim. But they would not permit his children to succeed to this frivolous title, which, in the hands of an enterprising prince, might have given them uneasiness. After the emperor had visited all the considerable towns of Egypt and Syria, he appointed two governors in this important conquest. Caitbek, one of the lieutenants who had betrayed sultan Gauri, was made bashaw of Grand Cairo for all Egypt, and Gazilbek, who had likewise betrayed that unfortunate prince, was appointed bashaw of Aleppo for all Syria. Selim thought, without doubt, that these Mammelukes would be more capable of governing a country which they had delivered to him, than the Ottomans; never considering,

J.C. 1519.
Heg. 925.

J.C. 1519.
Heg. 925.

that recompensing treachery is laying ones-self open to become its victim. He returned to his capital to prepare for new conquests, and obliged a great number of families to come thither from Grand Cairo, Gaza, Aleppo, and Alexandria, for he would beyond every thing enrich his capital. Moreover, the eastern monarchs, who know much less how to improve than to destroy, found their power on the weakness of their subjects; and as the law of the strongest is almost the only one known in the East, they think they have great interest in depopulating the distant provinces.

Selim, being arrived at Constantinople, went in the greatest state to the principal mosque. After having ordered thanks to be returned to God for his success, he pronounced, before all the people, a solemn oath, that, for the future, he would never turn back, 'till he should have exterminated the power of the Persians and the race of their kings. But the finances were so drained by the Egyptian war, that the emperor was obliged to lose a whole year, in order to give the defterdar, or superintendent of the finances, time to gather the tribute from the vassals, the revenues of the customs, and the annual tax paid by all the Christians and Jews subjects of the empire. This was what formed and still forms the treasure called exterior, employed in paying the troops and acquitting the expences

pences of the state. The treasure interior, which <sup>J.C. 1519.
Heg. 925.</sup> is under the direction of the kasnadar pachi, one of the eunuchs of the seraglio, furnishes the maintenance of the grand seignior's house, his wives, his gardens, his stables, and every thing that concerns his person. It arises from the demesnes of the sultan let out to the profit of his highness, and, when he pleases to augment it, he joins to it the confiscation of the wealth of the great officers of the empire, who have enriched themselves in their governments, by seizing on every thing that belonged to those whom they have caused to be executed. The grand seignior has a right, (which he makes use of more or less often, according to his character,) to proscribe the heads of such of his subjects as may displease him, without the least ceremony, and without informing, either the people or the condemned person, of the reason of his condemnation. The bashaws make use of it in their governments with the same despotism.*

At the time when the finances of the state were drained, the sultan had recourse to this odious mean. Yonus bashaw, one of the viziers of the <sup>Punishment of
Yonus bashaw, and
the principal people of A-
masia.</sup> bench,

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* In order to avoid these proscriptions, which are rarely made but with a view to confiscations, every one carefully conceals his riches, even the means and the talents which he has for getting them. From thence springs that inaction, so prejudicial to the state, in which most of the natives live. It is only foreigners, who enjoy with the Turks the protection of their sovereign, who dare leave the state of poverty; and they are often punished for it, by extortions which they are obliged to pay without presuming to complain.

J.C. 1519.
Heg. 925.

bench, who, in all Selim's wars, had served him with more fidelity and success than any of his generals, was ordered to encrease the pay of the garrisons which he commanded in Natolia. This bashaw, in the impossibility of obeying, caused to be distributed, or at least offered, the pay on the ancient footing; the troops tumultuously refused it. On the news of this mutiny, Yonus bashaw was ordered to the seraglio; this minister having explained to the emperor, that the treasury of his province, from which considerable sums had been already drawn for the preparations of the war, was unable to furnish the additional expence: "Thy property shall acquit it," replied the cruel monarch, and he had Yonus bashaw strangled almost under his eyes. The last, and the bloodiest of these executions, was in the town of Amasia. Selim learned that an impostor had called himself the son of Achmet there, and had attempted to form a party. This new adversary was soon repressed and punished. The emperor, on the declaration of one man only, who had pretended that all the principal inhabitants of Amasia were the accomplices of this rebel, caused more than four hundred persons, who protested their innocence, to be empaled with him or blooded to death.

J.C. 1520.
Heg. 926.

Death of
Selim.

At length the conqueror, or rather the destroyer Selim, was stopped in the course of his cruelties, as he was preparing to march against Persia. He

was

was attacked by a severe illness in a village near Adrianople, where he went to visit the tomb of his fathers; he died in a few days of an abscess formed in the upper part of his thigh, reproaching himself, it is said, with the blood that he had so wantonly and abundantly shed. This prince was the first of the Turkish emperors who went in disguise to the camps and towns, mixing with the people and soldiers. In the eastern manners, the monarch is too much above his subjects, to be able to have the least idea of the people that he governs, unless, under these disguises, he see the conduct of those who govern under him, and seek to know what effects the orders he gives produce; becoming, in some respects, his own spy. Selim died aged fifty-four years, after having reigned eight, during which he greatly enlarged his empire. But he seemed willing to depopulate it, as he augmented it.

J.C. 1520.
Heg. 926.

S O L Y M A N I.

SURNAMED THE MAGNIFICENT.

T E N T H R E I G N.

SOLYMAN, the son of Selim, was thirty years old when he ascended the throne. He began his reign with acts of justice, permitting all his subjects to reimburse themselves from the public treasury

Solyman
ascends the
throne.
He restores
the confis-
cations
made by
his prede-
cessor.

J.C. 1520.
Heg. 926.

treasury what had been wrested from them without a cause. This is the only example of the kind in the Turkish history; but, as it was not extended to the descendants of those that had been proscribed, and the greatest part had lost their lives with their fortunes, these restitutions were neither numerous nor considerable. The news of Selim's death excited troubles in the empire, very common under a new reign. The Mam-

He quells
the revolt
of Gazel-
bek, ba-
shaw of
Syria.

J.C. 1521.
Heg. 927.

meluke Gazelbek, this bashaw of Syria, who had merited his government by deserting to the Turks, undertook to make himself sovereign of the country which he had once already wrested from its lawful prince. He sent a delegate to Caitbek, the accomplice of his former treachery, who, like himself, had been rewarded with the sangiacate or government of Grand Cairo, to represent to him, that it was time to throw off the joke, and that, if they mutually assisted one another, their union would re-establish the empire of the Mammelukes. Whether Caitbek did not think himself strong enough to take Egypt from the Ottoman power, or that he was tired of betraying, far from listening to the proposals of the bashaw of Syria, he had his emissary strangled, and immediately informed the Porte of every thing that it had to fear from Gazilbek. The latter, not seeing his emissary return, did not doubt but his secret was divulged, either by his confident, or by him to whom he had been sent.

The

The bashaw of Syria threw off the mask, caused himself to be called soudan, and assumed all the attributes of sovereign. Solyman lost not a moment to crush this rebel; he sent towards Syria, under the orders of Ferhad bashaw, all the forces that Selim, his father, had intended against Persia. On the news of these motions, Gazelbek gathered together all the troops his faction could furnish him with. Twenty thousand men only consented to march against this formidable army, which the usurper was not afraid to go and attack with the tenth part of the forces opposed to him. Well convinced that audacity alone could supply the deficiency of number, he would not attend in fortified towns the destiny with which he was menaced. He marched out of Damascus to take possession of an advantageous camp, where he was soon joined by the enemy. The combat was nothing but a slaughter, hardly one of Gazelbek's soldiers escaped the enemy's sword, and he himself paid with his life, for the honor of having reigned two months in Damascus. So much blood shed in one single day, retained, not only Syria, but all Asiatic Turkey under the obedience of Solyman.

The spirit of conquest was hereditary in the Ottoman house. Neither the emperors nor the troops could remain in peace. Solyman resolved to turn his arms against Europe, and to extend

J.C. 1521.
Heg. 927.

He marches into Hungary; his vizier takes Belgrade.

his

J.C. 1521. his dominions to the westward of Constantinople.
 Heg. 927.

He obliges
 the Greeks,
 against
 their incli-
 nations, to
 buy the re-
 licks found
 in that
 town.

For fear lest any new disorder should interrupt the course of his expeditions, he placed sixty thousand men under the command of Ferhad bashaw, beglerbeg of Asia, to enable him to keep all the country in obedience to his authority.

He sent a fleet of observation into the Archipelago, and fitted out another of fifty ships of war, which was to escort, to the Black sea, four hundred vessels of burden, designed to provision the army which menaced Hungary. Never had there been a more favorable moment for the Turks to attack the Christian dominions. Spain, France, Germany, and Italy, were agitated by discord. Pope Leo X. was occupied with the rising opinions of Luther, and the wars in Italy between Charles V. and Francis I. for the duchy of Milan. He was unable to prevail on the princes of Christendom to succour the king of Hungary, as yet a minor, whose greedy ministers were impoverishing his heritage, and had carried their imprudence so far, as to insult this Ottoman power, so redoubtable for their master. Solymán having, according to custom, sent ambassadors to the young king Lewis II. his neighbour, immediately after the death of Selim, and at the time of his accession to the throne, the Hungarian monarch, or rather his ministers, paid so little attention to the law of nations, as to suffer these ministers of peace to be insulted by
 the

the people. This was more than sufficient to authorise all the acts of hostility which Solyman meditated. He sent instantly a body of troops to block up Belgrade, before they had time to send provisions and reinforcements thither. He marched himself at the head of a powerful army, and encamped in the plains of Semin, after which he detached his grand vizier Mustapha Kirlou with a numerous corps, to reinforce the troops that were laying siege to Belgrade. This Hungarian key, which had always resisted the predecessors of Solyman, was taken, in less than a month, through the scarcity of provisions and the weakness of the garrison. They found in Belgrade relicks that had been for a long time much venerated in Hungary. The emperor had them collected with great care, and carried to Constantinople, where, after having caused them to be shewn for money to the devout Christians, he sold them to the Greek patriarch for twelve thousand ducats, who was obliged to raise this sum from those who were of his communion; for this act of religion was not quite voluntary.

Whilst the grand vizier was occupied before Belgrade, the emperor took, in person, several little places. He meditated, for the following year, a more important conquest, in which Mahomet II. had not been able to succeed. The grand master of Rhodes, Carette, was lately dead: the grand prior of France, Philip Villiers L'isle

J.C. 1521.
Heg. 927.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928.
Solyman meditates the conquest of the isle of Rhodes. He menaces the knights by letter.

I.C. 1522.
Reg. 928,
& 929.

Adam, had been elected in his place, though several competitors had made intrigues in the election. Bosio, a lay brother of the Order, who has written its annals, assures us, that the grand prior of Castile, Damaral, a Portuguese by birth, one of the candidates for the dignity of grand master, in his rage at having been unsuccessful, resolved to deliver up the isle of Rhodes, and wrote to Solyman to make him the proposal of it. Be that as it may, the emperor of the Turks, who knew how to pay spies, was informed that the moment was favorable. All the powers of Europe were at that time at war, which put it out of their power to succour Rhodes, and employed a great number of knights and regular troops, who could not be expected to come to the assistance of the island: and as all the misfortunes seemed to happen at the same time, Rhodes, after two years scarcity, was badly provisioned, and the place was dismantled in several parts, because the grand master Carette had taken down some bastions, to rebuild them on more solid foundations. Nevertheless Solyman durst not break, without a pretext, the treaty concluded with the Order, under Bajazet II. The grand master, Villiers L'isle Adam, having set sail from Marseilles in a carack, followed by four feluccas, carrying provisions and ammunition, landed fortunately at Rhodes, across a thousand dangers from fires, tempests, and particularly from a famous

famous Turkish corsair, called Curtogli; he had been sent secretly by Solyman, to lie in wait for L'isle Adam in his passage; and his little squadron, all composed of corsairs like himself; was very superior in force to the escort of the grand master. The latter however found means to avoid him, and was received with transports of joy in the island which he was come to govern. He found only six hundred knights there, and less than six thousand regular troops. Villiers L'isle Adam was hardly arrived at Rhodes when he received a letter from the emperor of the Turks, of which the following is a faithful translation.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

“ Solyman sultan, by the grace of God, king of
 “ kings, sovereign of sovereigns, great emperor
 “ of Byzantium and Trebizond; most powerful
 “ king of Persia, of Arabia, and of Egypt;
 “ sovereign paramount of Europe and Asia;
 “ prince of Mecca and Aleppo; possessor of Je-
 “ rusalem; and lord of all the ocean; to Philip
 “ Villiers L'isle Adam, grand master of Rhodes,
 “ greeting. “ I congratulate thee on thy new
 “ dignity, and on thy arrival in thy territories;
 “ mayest thou reign happily, and with still more
 “ glory than thy predecessors. It will be thy
 “ own fault if thou do not live on good terms
 “ with us. Enjoy then our friendship, and, as
 “ our friend, don't be the last to congratulate us
 “ on the conquests which we have just made in
 “ Hungary, where we have rendered ourselves

J.C. 1522. " masters of the important town of Belgrade,
 Heg. 928, " after having put to the sword all those who
 & 929. " had the temerity to resist us. Adieu."

L'isle Adam, displeased with this letter, which, whilst it offered peace, displayed with so much affectation the conquests that the Turks had made from the Christians, answered: " Brother Philip Villiers L'isle Adam, grand master of Rhodes, to Solyman, sultan of the Turks: I have very well comprehended the meaning of thy letter which thy ambassador has brought me. The proposals of a peace between us are as agreeable to me as they will be disagreeable to Curtogli. This corsair, in my passage from France, did his utmost to take me prisoner; but not having succeeded in his project, and not being able to resolve to leave these seas without having done us some damage, he entered the river Lycia, and endeavoured to take two merchantmen which went from our ports. He even attacked a bark belonging to some Candians. But some galleys of the Order, which I sent from our port, obliged him to desist, and, for fear of falling himself into our power, he sought his safety in a speedy flight."

As L'isle Adam had no hostage in his hands, he did not think it prudent to expose a knight, as ambassador, to the insults of a nation which knew but little of the laws of mankind. A Greek, an inhabitant of Rhodes, was charged with carrying

carrying the letter of the grand master to Soly-
 man. Mustapha Kirlou, grand vizier and favo-
 rite of the emperor, who had just married the
 sister of that prince, wrote to Rhodes, that he
 could never permit the letter addressed to Soly-
 man to be remitted to him, unless one of the most
 qualified commanders of the Order came himself
 to present it in the name of the knights of St.
 John. L'isle Adam replied, that he would send
 two grand crosses to Constantinople, as soon as
 the emperor of the Turks should have sent two
 viziers or bashaws of the bench as hostages to
 Rhodes. As they were obstinately resolved not
 comply with this formality, the knights were
 determined to remain so likewise, and indeed
 with great reason, as their spies informed them,
 that the intention of the vizier, and consequently
 of the emperor, was to force from the mouth of
 the ambassador, either by force or cunning, an
 exact state of the forces of the Isle of Rhodes.
 In consequence of this information, the grand
 master hastened to recruit his army. He sent
 immediately to all the ports of Italy to buy up
 and assemble convoys to provision Rhodes. He
 would fain have levied troops; but all the subjects
 of the Venetians had orders to refuse him recruits.
 It seemed as if this republic wished to have
 Rhodes taken. By dint of attention, artifice,
 and money, L'isle Adam could procure only
 five hundred men from the Candians, and an
 engineer,

J.C 1522.
 Heg. 928,
 & 929.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

engineer, a noble Bressan, called Martinengue, the most ingenious man of his time in fortification, who, having taken the cross of the Order, rendered it afterward the most signal services. Amidst all these preparations, the grand master received the following letter from the emperor of the Turks. "We are informed that the letter which our highness has written thee, has caused thee more astonishment than pleasure. Know, that I am not contented with the taking of Belgrade, but propose to make soon another more important conquest, of which thou shalt be warned the first, thou and thy knights being seldom out of my memory."

L'isle Adam replied, by the chiau that brought this sort of challenge: "I am no way sorry at thy remembering me and the knights of my Order. Thou mentionest thy conquest in Hungary and thy intention to execute another enterprise from which thou hopest for the same success; but remember, that, of all the projects formed by mankind, there are none more uncertain than those which depend on the fortune of war."

L'isle Adam & his knights prepare for their defence.

After these sorts of declarations of war, they had only to think of their own defence. Some Turkish vessels had already surprised several unarmed Rhodian ships. The grand master ordered the villages to be ruined, the corn to be cut, and the exterior edifices to be pulled down, even the

the churches, all the materials of which were carried into the town, as much to be made use of, as not to leave the enemy the means to construct platforms proper to place cannon on.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928.
& 929.

Every thing was burnt that could not be of use in the town, and the peasants were conducted thither, as much to subsist them, as to employ them in the reconstruction of the fortifications that had been pulled down, and in repairing the breaches. These precautions, indispensable for sustaining a siege against such a power as the Turks, caused great detriment, and impoverished the island, particularly as the large convoys which came from other parts had drained the public treasury. The chancellor Damaral represented in open council, that they were causing a real calamity in order to prevent an uncertain one, perhaps even imaginary; that the accounts which came from the isles of the Archipelago said, that the armament of the Turks menaced the isle of Candia, and even Italy; that, during the forty years which he had served the Order, he had observed, that the uneasiness caused by the Turks had done more mischief than their hostilities. This discourse, which, at that time, was but little noticed, contributed afterward to the ruin of Damaral. He was appointed, against his inclination, commissary of the stores, together with chevalier Gabriel Pommerolles, grand commander, and chevalier John Bouk, turcopolier
or

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

or general of the horse. Martinengue, just made superintendent of the fortifications, hastened the raising of the bastions. He made, on the outside of the place, cuts, ditches, intrenchments, barricades, in short, every work that the shortness of the time would permit him to undertake. The citizens of Rhodes consented to take arms. The grand master formed some companies of them; but there was but very little service to be reaped from these people, who were neither made for fatigue nor danger. We have said that Rhodes was situated on a little hill, and extended by a small declivity as far as the borders of the sea; that the two ports were defended by two fortresses constructed on two advanced moles. Each of these ports was shut by two chains of iron at some distance. L'isle Adam placed garrisons in all the forts, and committed the defence of each bastion and each tower to a single knight. The men which this knight commanded were to be relieved every twenty-four hours. The grand master thought to keep up an emulation, by thus attaching each officer to the defence of one particular post. He had several vessels sunk, loaded with stones, at the foot of the moles on which the castles were constructed, in order to render the approach impracticable, and to save his troops the combats which the knights had had to sustain at the tower of St. Nicholas during the last siege of Rhodes. The
upper

upper part of the town, which contained the principal churches, the grand master's palace, the inns, and the dwellings of the knights, was abandoned by them. All lodged near the walls in order to be both day and night ready for the attacks. L'isle Adam was to have an eye on all the posts; he appointed four grand crosses to second him in this important duty, the chancellor Damaral, the turcopolier John Bouk, Peter Decluis, grand prior of France, and Gregory Morgut, grand prior of Navarre.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

Whilst the grand master was thus preparing to receive the enemy, they perceived by night on the coast of Lycia, which faces the ports of Rhodes, fires resembling signals. A French knight, called Menetou, was sent in a felucca to examine these fires. He took with him a Rhodian, called Jaxi, who understood and spoke the Turkish language with propriety. Having approached the shore near these fires, the cause of their voyage, they saw, around, some Turks, who appeared to them to be merchants. Jaxi having inquired of them for a merchant who came on these coasts, and with whom he had been acquainted; they replied, that he should see him, if he would come on shore. Menetou, hoping to procure some intelligence, permitted Jaxi to land, on condition of the Turks' furnishing him with a hostage. The latter having brought to the vessel the best in appearance, or at least the best clothed, among

Qq

them;

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

them; as soon as the Turk was on board, Jaxi debarked; but he was no sooner landed, than the Turks bound this unfortunate man, and placed him by force on a horse, in sight of Menetou, who immediately ordered the pretended hostage to be put in irons. This was only a poor peasant of the canton, whom these Turks had clothed in a vest of silk, and obliged to follow them. They were unable to procure any information at Rhodes from this miserable being. The Turks conducted Jaxi with every expedition to Constantinople. The vizier Mustapha had him put to the rack; in the horror of the torture, he discovered every thing he knew, and more than he knew of the state of the place, the number of soldiers and knights, and died a few hours after. The certainty of there not being more than six thousand regular troops in the isle of Rhodes, induced the emperor to undertake the siege; but he would not commit any kind of hostility, 'till after a formal declaration of war. He sent therefore some spahis to this same coast of Lycia where the unfortunate Jaxi had been taken. As soon as new signals were perceived, a felucca left the port of Rhodes; but not one on board would land, whatever solicitations were made them by the spahis from the shore. The Turks, seeing that they could not prevail on them, threw into the vessel a stone to which a letter was fastened. This was the declaration of war, which, being brought

brought to Rhodes, was read in open council. J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.
The following where the contents of it.

“ The depredations which you commit every
 “ day on our faithful subjects, and the injury
 “ which you do our highness, oblige us to com-
 “ mand you to remit to us forthwith the isle and
 “ fortress of Rhodes. If you do it willingly,
 “ we swear by the God who made Heaven and
 “ Earth, by the great prophet Mahomet, by the
 “ twenty-six thousand prophets fallen from the
 “ Heavens, by the four writers of the evangelical
 “ history, by the adorable souls of our fathers
 “ and grandfathers, and by the sacred head of
 “ our highness, that you shall be permitted to go
 “ out of the island and the inhabitants to remain
 “ there, without any injury being done to them
 “ or you. But if you do not immediately com-
 “ ply with our orders, you shall all be put to
 “ the sword, and the towers and walls of Rhodes
 “ shall be reduced to the height of the herb that
 “ grows at its foot.”

On this, the grand master ordered public prayers to implore the assistance of Heaven. Com-
mence-
ment of
the siege.
 After having caused all the neighbouring islands belonging to the Order to be laid waste, they brought away all the inhabitants that were able to carry arms, and such as were willing to go to Rhodes to live. The enemy's fleet soon appeared; it was composed of four hundred sail, both great and small vessels, which carried a hundred and

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

fifty thousand men, soldiers or pioneers. This army was commanded by the grand vizier Mustapha Kirlou. He had for lieutenants the corsair Curtogli, and Peri bashaw, who had been intrusted with the education of Solyman. The fleet entered a road called Parambolin, six miles from Rhodes. For the first thirteen days there was no act of hostility on either side ; the Turks landed their artillery and provisions, after which they resolved to attack the place, without stopping at the other forts in the island, which would be obliged to surrender as soon as the town should be taken. The fourteenth day Rhodes was invested, and the trenches opened towards the left flank of the place out of the reach of the cannon. But as soon as the Turks had erected a battery, it was beaten down by a battery set against it. Brisk and frequent sallies scoured the trenches and filled up the works. The knights, as vigilant within as without, discovered a conspiracy of Turkish slaves, who had resolved to set fire at the same time to several places of the town. A soldier of the garrison caught a woman placing matches in a place filled with fodder. This wretch being put to the torture named her accomplices, who were rather numerous, mentioned the hour agreed upon, and the different places in which this plot was to be executed. They were all taken and put to death. Meanwhile the siege did not advance. The janissaries, who were

were not under the eyes of the emperor, had but little confidence in a young general, who was not yet known by any victory. The artillery of the besieged, numerous and well served, destroyed all the works of the Turks. Six thousand men, who seemed to multiply themselves, withstood a hundred and fifty thousand with the greatest success. Peri bashaw wrote to Solyman, that his presence was necessary to give vigour to the troops; that Rhodes had already resisted the arms of Mahomet II. because that prince had not deigned to attack it in person; and that the courage of the best soldiers languished, when it was not animated by the sight of their sovereign.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

The bashaw's information drew Solyman from Constantinople. He put to sea immediately with an escort rather than a reinforcement. Every thing changed countenance on his arrival. The example which he gave himself, his eyes unceasingly fixed on the ramparts of Rhodes, his promises and menaces, made the janissaries return to their duty. These brave soldiers became again what they had formerly been; but the resistance of the knights was only more obstinate. The sultan had brought with him a Greek renegade engineer, who caused mines to be made under the bastions. It is said that Martinengue invented in this siege the use of countermines, and the secret of discovering the subterraneous works of the enemy by means of a drum.

Solyman
goes to the
siege.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

a drum. He caused the mine to be immediately counterworked, drove out the labourers with grenades, or else threw in barrels of powder all inflamed, which stifled and burnt these wretches in the subterraneous passages which they had themselves digged. The artillery of the knights of Rhodes, superior to that of the Turks, dismounted almost always the batteries of the besiegers, so that the latter durst no longer fire but by night. They soon began to want powder in the town. The grand master employed all the mills and horses in the place, to grind a sufficient quantity of salt petre, but the cannon and small arms used much more than the mills could furnish. The defence of the place soon suffered from this scarcity; the Rhodians perceived also, that the blood which they spilt in the sallies was too precious, considering the smallness of their number, since the Turks fought more than twenty against one. They contented themselves with defending the five bastions which Solyman caused to be attacked at the same time at the five extremities of the town, and constructing new works behind those on which the cannon made an impression. Two mines, which succeeded, gave the Turks hopes of soon mounting to the assault, but the walls beaten down discovered new ones to their eyes. For two months had they battered in breach, and the Turkish generals had not yet thought of storming the place.

Solyman,

Solyman, full of impatience and shame, assembled his council to reproach the bashaws with six thousand Christians' opposing all the forces of the Ottoman empire. The grand vizier replied, that sufficient advantage had not been taken of their number; that opposing artillery to artillery, and mines to mines, as had been done so far, was renouncing voluntarily their superiority; that the janissaries should be led to the assault, and all the bastions attacked at once. This proposal was seized with avidity. The next morning, at break of day, the batteries fired brisker than ever, in order to enlarge the breaches. The five principal posts, called France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and England, on account of their being each intrusted to knights of these nations, were more defended by the valour of the troops, than by the fortifications, already much impaired. The sultan ascended a small hill, from whence he could see with a glance of the eye all the attacks that his bashaws were about to make. The janissaries were already advancing, ladder in hand, when they heard acclamations of joy in the place, caused by the arrival of two galleys from Sicily, which brought two hundred soldiers, with provisions and ammunition. Though this succour was not very important, the good fortune which it had had to enter a port invested by more than two hundred sail, spite of the efforts of the captain bashaw and the fire from

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

The grand seignior deposits his vizier on account of the bad success of his troops in storming the place.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

from all the fleet, was a good omen for the knights. The defence of the five bastions demonstrated what valour can do against ferocity and number. L'isle Adam went to the English bastion, which was the weakest, and consequently most in need of attention. When the janissaries had reached the ditches, the knights lavished the fire which they had 'till then been sparing of, and made a terrible slaughter. The Turks reached several times the top of the walls, and were as often thrown down. All those, who put foot on the platform of the bastions, met certain death: at length, after a combat of more than six hours, during which time all the attacks were constantly repelled, Solyman, fuming with rage, ordered the retreat to be sounded, in order that it might appear, at least, that his troops had submitted only to his orders. The Turks left more than twenty thousand men around the ramparts, which they had not been able to force. As soon as he was returned to the camp, Solyman ordered, that the grand vizier Mustapha, his favorite and brother-in-law, should be fastened to a stake in presence of all the army, as a butt to shoot arrows at. This young monarch made his vizier responsible for the bad success of the siege, and particularly for the last assault, which the grand vizier had recommended. This cruel order was going to be executed; Mustapha was already fastened to the stake, when Peri bashaw, his friend, who had educated

educated the emperor, ordered the execution to be suspended, and, seconded by all the bashaws of the bench, and almost all the chiefs of the troops, he ran to the emperor's tent to solicit a pardon for the grand vizier, who, they all maintained, was not culpable. Solyman, irritated, condemned Peri bashaw to perish the same instant, with him whom he defended with so much constancy; but all the other bashaws having prostrated themselves at the same time before him, the emperor read in all their eyes how much horror this order inspired. Having collected himself, he pardoned Kirlou and Peri, on condition that the former never appeared again in his presence. A sangiacate was given him in Egypt, in order to send him so far off that he might never return. There remained to punish the lieutenant or admiral of the fleet, who had let the two Neapolitan galleys enter; the sultan ordered that he should be publicly deposed, and whipped like a slave on board the admiral galley. Achmet bashaw, the able engineer that Solyman had brought with him, was made grand vizier, and intrusted with the command of the army.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

It is said, that, after this bad success, the Turkish emperor would have raised the siege, if he had not been persuaded by letters from the town, thrown into the camp with arrows, to continue it. They assured Solyman, that the knights, reduced to the last extremity, could not defend

Trial of
the grand
chancellor
Damaral

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

the place much longer ; that they wanted ammunition, and had lost a great many soldiers. This intelligence raised the sultan's spirits. The artillery again battered in breach, and the Turks prepared to recommence the assaults. A Jewish physician was convicted of having committed this treason : he was caught going to shoot off one of these arrows which carried advice ; he acknowledged, in the torments of the rack, that he had constantly been the spy of the Turks, and had even been paid by the emperors Selim and Bajazet II. A traitor of much greater consequence was soon thought to be discovered. Damaral, the grand chancellor, though intrusted during the siege with the inspection of the posts, had always been suspected by the friends of the grand master, and by the grand master himself. An old grudge which he was reproached with bearing L'isle Adam, before that knight was invested with the sovereign dignity ; the pretensions of Damaral to the grand-mastership, and his too visible chagrin at not having succeeded therein ; his opposition in the council to the provisioning of Rhodes when war was not yet declared ; the scarcity of gun-powder, which happened only because the chancellor, charged with that inspection, had assured the council that the magazines were much fuller than they really were ; all this had raised suspicions. The reader must remember that the different posts were intrusted to the
same

same officer, for the whole siege. One of ^{J.C. 1522.} these commanders secretly warned the grand ^{Heg. 928,} master, that a servant of Damaral's, called Blase ^{& 929.} Dies, came very often to his post; that, for a long time, he paid no attention to him, but having at length remarked, that this man appeared there every day at the same hours, he had examined him nearer, and thought he was sure that Dies threw intelligence into the enemy's camp by means of arrows; and that the grand chancellor came there often with his servant. L'isle Adam paid attention to this information. Dies, carefully watched, was caught going to throw off one of these notes, which was taken in his hands. The wretch, interrogated, contradicted himself several times; on being put to the rack, he said, before he suffered it, that the intelligence which he sent to the enemy was dictated to him by Damaral, and that he threw it into the enemy's camp by order of his master. The chancellor was arrested immediately and conducted to the tower of St. Nicholas. Two grand crosses were sent to interrogate him. Damaral defended himself with haughtiness. He replied to these commissioners, that he had not served the Order forty years to betray it in an advanced age; that the favors of the Turks could not compensate for the riches, dignities, and reputation he enjoyed; and that he opposed to his calumniators, the series of a long life without

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929. reproach. When they confronted him with his accuser, he said, that that man accused him, only through revenge for having had him severely chastised several times, and perhaps with the hope of saving his life; that, if he, Damaral, had wished to betray, he had no occasion for the assistance of that wretch, as his quality of inspector of the defence gave him the right of visiting the posts at all hours, and to remain there as long as he should think proper, without ever being suspected.

A priest, chaplain to the Order, came and deposed, that, having advanced on a bastion one day, which he mentioned, he saw Damaral with this servant, both looking earnestly on the enemy's camp; that being both returned, he perceived in Dies's hands, a cross bow, with its bolt or quarrel, to which a paper was fastened; that the chancellor haughtily demanded of him with an angry tone, what he was seeking; upon which he retired immediately, seeing his presence was disagreeable. On this deposition it was resolved that Damaral should be put to the rack. Before it was commenced, the grand crosses earnestly pressed him to put himself in a situation to experience the forgiveness of God, of the grand master, and of all the Order, by a sincere acknowledgment of his crime. The chancellor answered with firmness, that nothing should ever make him calumniate himself, that he would rather

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928
& 929.

ther suffer all the torments imaginable, than render himself contemptible in the eyes of the world and his own. In the horrors of the torture, he acknowledged solely, that at the time of the election of L'isle Adam, knowing that the Turks had for a long time menaced the island, he had said to two knights, that that would be the last grand master of Rhodes; that his chagrin at not having carried it against his competitor, and his manner of thinking of L'isle Adam, whom he had always considered as a man of little ability, had drawn these indiscreet expressions from him. As to the rest, gentlemen, continued he, looking at his judges, this fault does not merit that you should deliver one of the first personages of your Order to the executioner. Damaral preserved this firmness to the last moment. His judges however thought they saw sufficient to condemn him. The grand chancellor was therefore publicly stripped of the marks of his dignity, and the habit of his Order, after which he was delivered to the secular judges, who caused him to be carried in a chair, the next day, to the great square, where his servant was hanged before his eyes, and himself beheaded, always protesting his innocence and the error of his judges.

Meanwhile the Turks battered in breach faster than ever. The remaining knights, rather hidden and buried than fortified in the ruins of their ramparts, says Vertot, constantly flattered themselves

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

selves with succours from the Christian princes, without which they could not long hold out. But Charles V. and Francis I. had affairs more interesting for them than the siege of Rhodes. All the other Christian princes, without excepting the new pope Adrian VI. were engaged in the quarrel of these two illustrious rivals, and abandoned this monastery of warriors to the care of Providence and the valour of its knights. Three convoys, one from Provence, another from Spain, and a third from England, had been wrecked in distant places or taken by the Turks. The janissaries, become masters of the out-works of the place, had obliged the grand master to have the churches and buildings in the suburbs pulled down, in order to deprive the enemy of them. The fire from the besiegers and the besieged was so close, that there was no intermission either by day or night. The Turks were continually relieving one another, in order to oblige the few soldiers who were yet in the place, to remain always on duty. Notwithstanding these extremities, L'isle Adam would not hear of a capitulation. He recollected always, that forty years before, the perseverance of Aubuffon had tired the valour of the janissaries : not being less valiant nor less prudent, he flattered himself, though less seconded, with being equally fortunate. Achmet bashaw saw, that, notwithstanding the ground which his troops gained in the place, and
spite

spite of the breaches in the new works, these lions could not be forced in their fort. He caused honorable capitulations to be proposed to them several times; the grand master, having always rejected them, threatened, at last, to fire on those who were charged with these proposals; but the Rhodians saw with the greatest grief that their town would soon be sacked. Intelligence was continually throwing into the place, importing, that the Rhodians might, if they would, save their possessions, their fortunes, and the honor of their wives; that the grand seignior offered them treaties, but that the knights, their real enemies, were resolved to see them perish. These murmurs encreased more and more against the obstinacy of L'isle Adam. At length, the Greek and the Latin archbishop, for there was one for each communion at Rhodes, went and told the grand master, that God was determined to take the island from the Order, since he deprived them of the means to defend it; that religion did not permit him to sacrifice so many people to vain glory; that humanity was not less a duty of the knights of St. John, than valour; that, besides, it was to be feared that the Rhodians, grown desperate, would become his enemies, and would rather march on the bloody bodies of the few knights who remained at Rhodes, to open their gates and accept the capitulation offered, than expose themselves to these horrors, which the

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

The two
archbishops
of Rhodes,
and all the
people, ea-
gerly re-
quest to
have the
island
given up.

J.C. 1522. notes thrown into the town were unceasingly
 Heg. 928,
 & 929. menacing them with.

The grand
 master
 consents to
 a capitula-
 tion.

One day, the archbishops being admitted to the council to plead the cause of the people, three merchants brought a request in the name of all the citizens, which contained in substance just what the prelates had been saying, and ended with an indirect menace, to separate the cause of the citizens from that of the Order. All laws both divine and human, they said, obliged them to provide for the safety of their wives and children. Notwithstanding the resistance of L'isle Adam, who was always for continuing the defence, all the grand crosses who composed the council were for ordering the commanders and inspectors of the posts from their duty, to learn from them the state of their intrenchments, and, in fine, if it were possible to hold out. The grand prior of St. Gilles, and the bailiff Martinengue, that celebrated Bressan engineer, who had the principal inspection, and who had both performed prodigies of valour during the siege, declared, that all the out-posts were in the possession of the enemy; that the Turks had even gained more than forty paces in the inner part of the town, and that it was no longer possible for the knights to fortify themselves again whilst they lost ground, as the works which the Turks were masters of commanded all the neighbouring quarters; that moreover they absolutely wanted powder

powder and even saltpetre to make it with; that the scarcity of corn would presently be felt; that, in fine, the place was no longer tenable, and that there was absolutely nothing to be done but capitulate. All the reports agreeing with this general one, the grand master consented, against his will, to have a white flag hoisted on the top of a mill which looked towards the camp.

The Turks answered this signal by another flag. The fire ceased on both sides; and some knights, going outside their walls, met two Turks, whom they took for officers of rank, by the richness of their clothes. They gave the knights a letter from Solymán, addressed to the grand master, after which they retired, without further explaining themselves. By this letter the Turk offered an honorable capitulation, if the Order would instantly surrender the island; he threatened to have all the knights, soldiers, inhabitants, women, and children, put to the sword, in case they should think of defending themselves a longer time. L'isle Adam sent immediately two grand crosses to the emperor, with orders to demand of him, by way of preliminary, a truce for eight days, and to lay before his highness, the treaty made between Bajazet II. his grand-father, and the grand master Aubusson, in which Bajazet loaded with imprecations the emperors his successors who should attempt to take the isle of Rhodes. The young monarch, irritated, tore

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

He sends
two grand
crosses to
the camp
of the
Turks,
who not
agreeing to
the condi-
tions, the
siege re-
commen-
ces.

I.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

the treaty in pieces, and refused to grant the truce, because he was always afraid that succours would come from Europe. He ordered the deputies to be gone, and caused the town to be again fired on. In this interval, one part of people, or rather of the populace of Rhodes, came to complain to the grand master, of his going to deliver the town to Infidels, who knew not how to observe treaties. Some young, presumptuous men, animated by the cries of their countrymen, offered to defend the breaches which the knights wanted to abandon. This sort of commotion revived the heart of L'isle Adam; he saw with pleasure the capitulation broken off; but as the scarcity of ammunition augmented, they could answer but very feebly to the enemy's fire. Besides, these citizen-soldiers who had so earnestly solicited to guard the posts, presently relented of their fervency, to such a degree, that the grand master was obliged, the day after the renewing of the siege, to have a sentinel, who had quitted his post, hanged, because this bad example was already but too much followed. After three days, an assault, which the knights repulsed with great loss, convinced L'isle Adam that the same breach could not resist another such attack. All the fortifications were nothing but heaps of rubbish. The grand master listened to the instances of the wisest of the citizens, and even of his knights, who repeated to him several times,

The treaty
is renewed.

times, that true bravery did not consist in voluntarily destroying what could be saved. He sent these same two grand crosses, with two Rhodian citizens who spoke the Turkish language fluently, to the emperor, who ordered his grand vizier Achmet to prepare immediately the articles of capitulation with the envoys from Rhodes. It was then agreed :

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

“ That the churches should not be prophaned, and that the inhabitants should not at any time be obliged to deliver up their children for the service of the seraglio, or to be brought up in the janissaries. Articles of the treaty.

“ That the free exercise of the Christian religion should be permitted.

“ That the people should be exempt from taxes for five years.

“ That all those, who wished to leave the island, should have permission.

“ That if the grand master and the knights had not vessels sufficient to carry them to Candia, they should be provided by the Turks.

“ That the space of twelve days should be allowed, to be counted from the signing of the treaty, for embarking their effects.

“ That they should have liberty to carry away the relicks of Saints, the sacred vessels, the ornaments of the churches, their records, and all the cannon which they made use of in arming their galleys.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

“ That all the forts of the isle of Rhodes, and the other islands belonging to the Order, should be delivered up to the Turks.

“ That, in order to facilitate the execution of this treaty, the Ottoman army should remove some miles distant, and that, during their absence, the sultan should send four thousand janissaries, commanded by their aga, to take possession of the place.

“ Lastly, that the grand master, for security of his word, should deliver into the hands of the Turks, as hostages, twenty-five knights, among whom there should be two grand crosses, with twenty-five of the principal inhabitants of the town.”

This treaty having been signed by the deputies, knights, and citizens, on the one part, and on the other by the grand vizier Achmet, ratified by the grand master and by the grand crosses, who composed the council, the hostages agreed on repaired to the camp. The aga of the janissaries came to take possession of Rhodes with four thousand men; and the knights, after a most bloody siege of six months, prepared to quit this sovereignty, which they had possessed two hundred and twenty years, with so much glory and utility to the commerce of all the Christian nations, and had so valiantly defended at different times.

The

The vessels agreed on were faithfully furnished; and the knights put on board them the remains of the riches of the Order, and the ornaments of the churches, which they wished to convey from the avidity of the Mussulmen. Two days after the capitulation, Achmet having had a conference with the grand master about the execution of the treaty, this minister informed him, that Solyman desired to see him. L'isle Adam had a dislike to the interview; but it would not have been prudent to refuse such an absolute vanquisher, who might retract his word under that pretext, without its being possible to make him repent of it. On the other hand, the knights, who knew how little the Turks respect the law of nations, pressed their grand master not to trust himself in the hands of these barbarians; but L'isle Adam, accustomed to the greatest dangers, repaired to the camp of the Turks early in the morning, without any other escort than a few of his brethren. Though it was then the most rigorous season of the year, the officers of the grand seignior left this illustrious old man, with all his retinue, exposed to the inclemency of the weather, 'till the beginning of the night. They then clothed him in a magnificent vest, as likewise his followers, and introduced them, with an interpreter, into the tent of the emperor, who received them on his throne. Solyman had a lofty soul. The resistance of the knights of Rhodes,

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

The grand
master of
Rhodes is
admitted
to an au-
dience of
the empe-
ror.

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

Rhodes, in kindling his wrath, had excited his admiration. He treated the grand master kindly, praised his valour, and said to him, that the conquest or the fall of empires was the common play of Fortune; he tried even to prevail on L'isle Adam to enter into his service, representing to him his having just experienced, how little he could depend on the friendship and alliance of the Christian princes, and that, if he would embrace the law of Mahomet, he might expect the greatest dignities in the Ottoman empire. The grand master, as firm in his faith as attached to his Order, answered the emperor, that he should be unworthy of his favor, if he were capable of accepting his offers. He seized this occasion to desire Solyman to grant the vanquished a necessary protection, and to order, that the knights should not be molested in their retreat or their embarkation. The sultan replied, that his word was inviolable; and, as a mark of his protection, he gave him his hand to kiss.

Notwithstanding such positive promises, a crowd of janissaries, under pretext of visiting their comrades in garrison in the town, rushed in unexpectedly five days after the capitulation. They pillaged some churches, and particularly the infirmary, which was immensely rich, and where the sick were served with as much magnificence as care. They insulted the citizens of Rhodes, and put the houses of the richest persons under

under contribution. The complaints of the grand master put a stop to this disorder. Achmet, who had been a witness of the reception which Solyman had given the knights, ordered the aga of the janissaries to be told, that his head would answer for the conduct of his men. And indeed the sultan, jealous of his personal reputation as much as of the glory of his arms, was desirous that the vanquished should carry to all the extremities of the universe, testimonies of the vanquisher's kindness, and the assurance of his being faithful to his word. In consequence, the disorder was soon repressed.

Solyman, in order to secure the tranquility of Rhodes, resolved to visit it himself, before the knights had left it. After having examined the ruins of these redoubtable fortifications, which were no longer any thing but heaps of stones and ashes, before which, even by the confession of the Turks, more than forty thousand soldiers had fallen by the hands of six thousand, the emperor would fain enter the palace of the grand master. L'isle Adam went out to meet his vanquisher. The monarch accosted him in an affable manner; he exhorted him even to support with courage this misfortune, and told him that he might peaceably embark every thing belonging to the Order and to the Rhodians who were desirous of following him; that if the time agreed on were not sufficient, he, the emperor, would voluntarily

J.C. 1522.
Heg. 928,
& 929.

Solyman
goes him-
self to
Rhodes,
and treats
the grand
master
kindly.

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

voluntarily prolong it. He gave the grand master new assurances of an inviolable fidelity in the execution of the capitulation; then turning to Achmet, he said: "It is not without some pain that I oblige this Christian, at his age, to go out of his house."

L'isle Adam did not abuse the favor granted him by his enemy. Having learned that he was preparing to return in two days to Constantinople, the grand master, that he might not remain at the mercy of those who should command at Rhodes in the absence of the emperor, hastened his embarkation, which was made in the night between the last day of December 1522, and the first of January 1523. Four thousand Rhodians, men, women, and children, resolved to escape the dominion of these barbarians. They embarked with the knights and attached themselves to the fortune of the Order. The precipitation and disorder of this flight presented a moving spectacle; nothing was heard but cries, murmurs, and complaints. The knights lost a fine sovereignty; and the Rhodians regretted a fortunate climate, where the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the air had furnished them with a livelihood both plentiful and serene. Almost every one lamented a friend or relation abandoned to the yoke of the Mussulmen. An inhabitant of Rhodes, unfortunately of a too illustrious birth, would willingly have followed these fugitives.

Solyman
leaves
Rhodes,
after the
knights &
four thou-
sand Rho-
dians are
embarked.

tives. This was a son of prince Zizim, the brother of the emperor Bajazet II. who, the reader must remember, fought an asylum in Rhodes, and afterward perished by the treachery of pope Alexander VI. This prince, obliged to leave the island, left an infant son there, who was brought up and instructed in the Christian religion. He married and had two sons. This family, though respected by the knights, lived at Rhodes in retirement, and almost forgotten. On the news of the siege, the son of Zizim flattered himself with remaining confounded in the crowd of Greeks; but Solymán was ignorant of nothing that could interest him. He discovered the asylum of the nephew of his grandfather, and took care how he let him escape. When they had secured this unfortunate prince, his wife, and children, they asked them, if they persisted in the Christian religion. All having declared that they would live and die Christians; the sultan seized this pretext to cut off every shoot of this adverse branch; he ordered all four to be beheaded, and set out the next day for Constantinople, after having assured himself of the departure of the knights.

Solymán, on his return to Constantinople, determined to employ himself on government. He caused several cadis to be punished, who had been guilty of partiality in the administration of justice, or fraud in the receipt of the public

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

He makes regulations both for the administration of justice and the finances.

Tt

money.

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

money. Though young and absolute, he saw the inconvenience of unlimited power, the danger there was of governing men only by the caprices of other men often unjust or confined in their abilities, who, not being able to prescribe any rule for themselves or those under them, rendered every thing arbitrary, and judged without justice, as they administered without prudence. The sultan ordered different punishments for different crimes; the punishment of death for all murders and some robberies, and other chastisements proportioned to the nature of the crime; but he always submitted the criminal to the accuser, so that in Turkey there is no crime but may be ransomed for money, or what else the party aggrieved shall willingly consent to. Solyman did not comprehend, that he, who commits a crime, attacks society as much and more, than the individual whom his crime has injured, and that the reparation is not sufficient, when the party aggrieved ceases to complain. But it was a great deal to establish some shadow of laws among these people, who 'till then had not received any. The prince confirmed likewise testimonial proof, to which he gave too great a latitude, as every thing in Turkey is proved by witnesses, even what does not appear of a nature to be understood, or things which should be contradicted by circumstances that might demonstrate its impossibility. Moreover, the cadi is ordered to
count

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

mosque, out of which the imans or priests are paid, and the buildings kept in repair; the surplus is carefully laid up. When it amounts to fifteen hundred purses (a purse is worth about sixty pounds sterling), this sum is carried to a particular treasury, which is called by the name of the prince in whose reign it devolved to the state, and is never touched, or at least it never ought to be, but for wars of religion. But we have already remarked, that the Turks term wars of religion, all those which they make against the Christians or the schismatic Mussulmen. The superintendence of the treasury of the mosques belongs, by right, to the kislar aga or superintendent of the women.

Solyman likewise made other laws for the military; he multiplied the degrees of rank, both in the spahis and janissaries; he intrusted the guard of his seraglio to the bostangis or gardeners, of whom he formed a military company, who guarded the outside of his palace whilst they took care of his gardens. The sultan did not find the janissaries sufficiently under command to make them, in some respects, masters of the person of their emperors. This establishment caused discontents, and occasioned a revolt, which the janissaries had been meditating ever since the taking of Rhodes, the pillage of which they remembered with grief they had been denied.

They

They did not dare this time appear in arms before the seraglio; they did not, according to their custom, make use of reproachful words against the emperor, but they pillaged the house of the defterdar aga, or grand treasurer, and, after having possessed themselves of all the money they could find there, cut him in pieces. Animated by the booty and the little resistance that was made against them, these rebels attempted to pillage the treasury of a mosque. An oda paschi (this officer, among the janissaries, answers nearly to the captains in the British troops) defended alone the door of the mosque, and, reminding the rebels of the respect which they owed to the Holy places, to Mahomer, and to the emperor, he killed with his own hand two of his brother officers who gave the private soldiers the example of sedition. On these occasions the subalterns generally animate and command the rebels; and they are better obeyed than when they make use of the grand seignior's authority.

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

Revolt of
the janis-
saries.
How ap-
peased.

This faithful oda paschi was called Ibrahim. He alone quelled the sedition; he gave the aga of the janissaries, and the other superior officers, the time to come and announce to the janissaries, already intimidated, that the grand seignior was coming himself, and who presently appeared in the streets in reality. No sooner had he spoken to the troops than they dispersed at the sound of his

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

his voice, each fleeing the chastisement which fell only on the four ringleaders. Solyman thought it best to depose the grand vizier, against whom the chief clamours had been raised, and he gave this important place to Ibrahim, the oda paschi who had just shewn so much fidelity, courage, and address. The news of this promotion awoke the emperor's brother-in-law, Mustapha Kirlou, who had been formerly grand vizier, and had been like to lose his life at Rhodes, the remembrance of which rendered him the secret enemy of the sultan. Mustapha was beloved; the credit of his wife and the cries of the army having saved his life, a sangiacate was given him at the extremity of Egypt, where the emperor, (not to see him again,) had resolved that he should always remain. This discarded minister undertook to make his brother-in-law repent of having left him authority when he had withdrawn from him his confidence. He had flattered himself that the last revolt, in which he had some indirect part, would have restored him the place of grand vizier; but as soon as he knew that Solyman had given the viziership to another, he attempted to make himself an independent sovereign. He intrusted the secret, for his misfortune, to one Mehemet effendi, secretary to his sangiacate. The latter sent the Porte an account of all the perfidious Mustapha's plots. The emperor contented himself with sending the grant of sangiac

to Mehemet, the accuser of the rebel, with order to have him punished as soon as he should have deprived him of his command. But Mustapha had already thrown off the mask. Some armed troops joined in his rebellion, and he hoped to maintain himself on the throne which he had made. However, his first success was but of short duration. Mehemet had the rebel's wife, the emperor's sister, arrested, and sent a prisoner to Constantinople, though with all the honors due to the Ottoman blood. Mustapha Kirlou was beaten by the troops he had commanded, and taken by his successor, who ordered him to be bound, according to the order that he had received, to the fatal stake from which this unfortunate minister had been delivered at the siege of Rhodes. Mustapha perished by the arrows of the soldiers of his guard.

For two years had Solyman lived in repose, more occupied with government than conquest. Idleness irritated the boiling spirit of the janissaries, and their arms demanded victims. The sultan saw, that, both for his repose and glory, he must employ this restless soldiery. Hungary presented a vast field for conquest, particularly since the Turks had taken Belgrade. Some parties were in possession of all the country as far as Peterwaradin. Lewis II. at that time king of Hungary, only twenty-two years old, had neither sufficient experience nor resources to defend his patrimony.

J.C. 1523.
Heg. 929.

J.C. 1524,
1525,
1526.
Heg. 930,
931,
932.
Solyman
marches
towards
Hungary.
Lewis II.
has great
difficulty
to get
troops to
oppose
him.

J.C. 1524, patrimony. The affairs of Europe left him no
 1525,
 1526. hope for succours either from Germany or Po-
 Heg. 930,
 931,
 932. land, and the factions, with which his kingdom
 was divided, weakened its power, by inspiring
 the people with a suspicion of every person
 but their king. All the inconveniencies insepa-
 rable from a feudal government were felt much
 stronger in Hungary than in any other country of
 Europe. They knew neither commanders nor
 obeyers. The vassals, though often in rebellion
 against their lords, served them however still
 more than they served their country; and the
 lords had almost always different interests from
 those of the state. The defence of the most im-
 portant places was, not in the hands of the great
 officers of the crown, but the great vassals; a
 cordelier, newly made bishop of Colocza, was
 commander in that quality in all the towns be-
 tween the Save, the Drave, and the Danube.
 The imprudence and too great authority of this
 warlike drelate brought a great many calamities
 on Hungary. This bishop, called Paul Tomorri,
 gave certain intelligence to the king of Hungary
 of the levies which the sultan was making, and
 of every thing that he meditated. Not having
 received an answer sufficiently exact with respect
 to succours which became more and more neces-
 sary, Tomorri went and joined his master at
 Vicegrade, leaving in the places dependent on
 his bishopric all the soldiers that he had been
 able

able to raise. Whilst Lewis II. was assembling the states of his kingdom, convoking his barons, who in their turn assembled the undertenants, and summoning at a distant day in the plains of Tolnia all who owed a service to the crown, Solyman marched towards the frontiers of Hungary at the head of two hundred thousand men. This prince, the friend of order, would not suffer his army to pillage in the countries already under his subjection. As he was advancing towards Peterwaradin, which he meant to besiege, a poor woman, tearing her hair and making bitter lamentations, came and threw herself at the emperor's feet. The chiaus were going to take her away; but Solyman, calling to her, commanded her to make her complaints. She said, increasing her tears, that, during the night, the janissaries had pillaged her house with so much cruelty, that they had left nothing in it: The emperor replied with a smile, that she must have slept soundly indeed to have heard nothing of this disorder. "It is true," replied the poor woman, "I slept in peace, in confidence that the emperor watched for us all." The sultan, struck with this reply, ordered the marauders to be instantly punished, and gave the woman a sum of money much more considerable than what she had lost.

Solyman had no difficulty to possess himself of Peterwaradin, Saliouk, Ozek, and several small

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places

J.C. 1524,
1525,
1526.
Heg. 930,
931,
932.

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

places in which the garrisons were not sufficiently numerous, nor the intrenchments sufficiently strong, for it to be possible to make a long resistance. Lewis II. heard of all these successes at Tolnia, where he had with great difficulty assembled twenty-five thousand men, and for a long time had been waiting in vain for John Zapoli, waywode of Transylvania, who had just put himself at the head of the commons of that great province. Bishop Tomorri, the general in whom he had most confidence, advised him to send on a detached body, before his army, to take possession of the narrow passes, which might stop the enemy. But the vassals of the crown replied, that they owed their services about the king's person, and not in flying camps. Thus, they chose rather to betray the common cause, than grant their master beyond what they thought he had a right to demand from them. All these feudal soldiers, who refused to remain long under tents, thought themselves armed only for a sudden attack, and were neither sufficiently patient nor disciplined to carry on a defensive war. They were led but just as they pleased. The king and the bishop marched them against the enemy, in a mountainous country, near the little town of Mohatz. The situation was favorable: the Hungarians knew that they should not long wait for Solyman, whose army soon covered all the plains which Lewis's camp commanded.

This

This multitude did not terrify men, more courageous than prudent, who had been told repeatedly, that the sultan's army was composed only of slaves collected in haste. Persuaded that they could easily vanquish this armed mob, they loudly demanded to be led to battle.

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

Lewis II. assembled the council; notwithstanding the cries of the soldiers, George Cabugliane, and the bishop of Peterwaradin, who commanded under Tomorri, did all they could to dissuade this prelate and the king from attacking the enemy. They represented the advantage of their camp, the approaching hope of receiving a reinforcement from Transylvania, the facility of stopping a numerous army in the post which they occupied, and the prodigious disadvantage there would be to fight one against eight, however valiant the less number might be. These reasons too good were not listened to. Cabugliane having strongly argued for the king's person, at least, who had no successor, not being exposed in an affair so uncertain, the young monarch would never permit his troops to engage in a danger which he did not share with them. He made use of the reason already alleged against the projects of operation, that the great vassals owed their service only about his person, and declared he would never consent to separate his fortune from theirs. Bishop Tomorri, full of that burning courage which is incapable of re-

Battle of
Mohatz.

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

flexion, pressed the moment of action; he drew up the Hungarian army so as to give it the greatest extent of front possible; but the ranks were only clearer, and the files not so deep. A corps was formed for the king's guard, and, according to ancient custom, they took off the spurs of the officer who carried the standard of Hungary before the monarch, to put it out of his power to flee. All the artillery of Lewis II. consisted of eighteen pieces of cannon, which were disposed six on each flank and at the main battle. Sixteen thousand foot began the action with one common effort, and, at first, performed prodigies of valour; but this bravery, or rather rashness, only served to hasten the carnage. These warriors presented themselves to battalions more numerous, better closed, and more difficult to be shaken than theirs; the cavalry, which closely followed them, fell likewise by the enemy's sword. Bishop Tomorri, and six other bishops, armed by his example, lost their lives for the obstinacy which they had opposed to the good reasons of the bishop of Waradin. This prelate was killed, as likewise five hundred barons or great vassals, with most of the soldiers: in fine, the combat having begun at three in the afternoon, by seven, there were more than eighteen thousand Hungarians dead or dying on the field of battle. The janissaries cut off the heads of all they saw wounded, and exposed them on pikes

at the entrance of their tents. The king of Hungary, whom his guard had abandoned, was found dead, stuck with his horse in a morass at some distance from the field of battle. The few, who saved themselves from this slaughter, owed their safety only to a precipitate flight. The next day, the sultan took the road to Buda, putting every thing that fell in his way to fire and pillage, more employed in ruining towns than reducing fortresses.

Solyman entered Buda without resistance, and permitted the town to be pillaged as if it had been taken by assault. As much as he had loved order in his own country, so much he authorised plunder in Hungary. His intention was, rather to drain this province, than to make himself master of it. He left always on the right and left the fortresses which he met with in his inroad, without taking the precaution to intrench himself in a country where he no longer met with soldiers. The grand seignior penetrated as far as a petty province defended by mountains and narrow passes, where the Hungarians had collected all that remained of their scattered forces. The richest of them had brought thither their wives, their children, and the remains of their fortune; they flattered themselves with defending these defiles, and remaining sheltered from the sword of the Turks; but nothing resisted Solyman. He overthrew this barrier, which was considered

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

Solyman sacks Buda, without having besieged it. He lays waste Hungary, and returns to Adrianople.

J.C. 1526.
Heg. 932.

as impregnable; again bathed himself in blood, and satiated the avidity of his janissaries, which he had restrained at the siege of Rhodes. At length, on the approach of winter, he brought back his soldiers to Adrianople, bending under the weight of their booty, without having left a garrison in any Hungarian town. The sultan was well convinced, that, for a long time, the situation of these people would not permit them to make use of the liberty which he left them.

Marriage
of the
grand vi-
zier Ibra-
him.

J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.

The grand seignior resolved to return to his capital, where he married the grand vizier Ibrahim to one of his sisters. The alliances of the ministers with the master are very common among the Turks; but the pride of the Ottoman blood often renders this honor very burdensome for the man who receives it. The husband of the princess must make his wife a jointure in proportion to her birth. Moreover, the brother-in-law of the emperor renounces the right given him by his religion, of marrying four wives and having as many concubines as he pleases; he is obliged to observe the strictest fidelity to his illustrious spouse, who enjoys in her house an absolute authority, of which a poniard, ornamented with diamonds, which she always wears by her side, is the mark. It is true that the sultan's sister does not see the men any more than the other Mahometan women: all conversation with them is likewise forbidden; but they reign over their husbands,

husbands, and a troop of women and eunuchs. J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.
They have the grief to see all their male children put to death: the jealousy of the Ottoman princes not permitting them to suffer men allied to their blood to live. Illustrious births are unknown in Turkey. There is no other family than the house of Ottoman. The alliance with the princesses of the blood does not place those whom the emperor admits to that honor out of the reach of the fatal bow-string. We have already seen that the grand vizier Mustapha Kirlou, who was shot with arrows, had married another of Solyman's sisters. The Turkish emperors have been known even to give their sisters or daughters to great officers whom they had resolved to put to death, in order to make these princesses the heirs of their great possessions. The grand vizier Ibrahim's nuptials were celebrated with a magnificence 'till then unknown in the Turkish empire. Tilting and wrestling were performed for the first time in presence of the people. But the total separation of the two sexes, and the profound retirement of the women, render these diversions dull throughout the East, and deprive them of that exterior gaiety and galantry which reign in the western nations. Solyman admitted his brother-in-law to his table, contrary to the general usage, and would have all Constantinople witness the distinguished affection with which he honored this minister.

Ibrahim's

J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.

Ibrahim
disperſes a
troop of en-
thuſiaſts,
and puts
the chief
to death.

Ibrahim's nuptials were hardly finiſhed, when his preſence became again neceſſary at the head of the troops. A derviſ, or monk, of thoſe whom they call calenders, more auſtere and enthuſiaſtical than the reſt, and who profeſs a chaſtity ſo rigid, that they put ſteel rings through the parts which decency will not permit us to name; one of theſe fanaticks, whom the Turks venerate to adoration, conceived, at the extremity of Natolia, a deſign of placing himſelf on the throne. We have ſeen thus far that the object of all theſe formers of ſects has been to reign. The Orientals have no conception of being able to obey two authorities independent of each other. If the muſti is the premier Turkiſh prieſt, they regard him rather as the teacher than the chief of their religion. The emperor is always, for the Muſſulmen, God's vicar on earth. This fiery calender began to preach at Adana in Natolia, againſt voluptuouſneſs, and particularly the rapines of the baſhaws. Theſe two ſubjects cauſed him to be favorably attended to and ſoon followed by a crowd, particularly when he had announced in the public ſquares, that the time was come for ſhaking off the yoke impoſed by the ſlaves of the Ottoman race, and that it was requiſite to ſlay all thoſe tyrants fattened on the blood of the people, in order to recover thoſe immenſe ſums, with which the emperor's treaſury increaſed every year.

year. Solyman was yet in Hungary. The distance of the master and the principal forces of the state favored the revolt: in less than two months the novator had assembled more than fifty thousand fighting-men, to whom pillage supplied the place of pay, and persuasion of discipline. Peri bashaw, beglerbeg of Asia, vainly endeavoured to oppose these proceedings, with what asaps, or soldiers armed with arrows, he could gather together; these are the troops most numerous but least esteemed among the Turks. These enthusiasts, who beheld at the point of their swords crowns for this life and for that which is to come, overthrew every thing that came in their way; they put to death all the cadis, imans, and ministers both of religion and justice. Peri bashaw, having been vanquished in a pitched battle, wrote to the emperor, that, if he did not put a stop to this rebellion, he would not be answerable for the consequences. Ibrahim immediately passed the straits with most of the forces that Solyman had brought back from Hungary; he marched as far as Cesarea, where the novator having had the assurance to wait for him, he was vanquished, taken, and put to the cruelest tortures. As soon as he was dead, this sect was presently dispersed, all the towns returned to their obedience, and not one of those, who had fought under his standard, doubted of his being an impostor when they had

J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.

J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.

seen him overthrown contrary to the express prediction that he had made.

Quarrel
between
two effen-
dis of A-
leppo.
How ter-
minated.

Another religious quarrel having arisen at Aleppo the same year, the molla and the caliser his vicar, exasperated against each other, formed cabals in the town, and endeavoured each to procure partisans. The difference arose from the interpretation of a verse in the Alcoran, which the two parties explained differently, and probably neither understood. The principal inhabitants, fatigued with these disputes which threatened to become bloody, turned their arms against those who wanted to persuade them to massacre each other. Instead of fighting family against family, as they wanted them to do, they surrounded the mosque, the theatre of the dissension, and murdered the molla and caliser. Solyman, informed of this outrage, immediately ordered the neighbouring bashaws to assemble their troops, and put all the inhabitants of Aleppo to the sword; but the grand vizier Ibrahim, just returned from his Asiatic expedition, represented to his master, how unjust it would be to punish one cruelty by another still greater, and to involve a multitude of innocent people in the chastisement of some culpable ones: the sultan, naturally sanguinary, listened however to these sage counsels. He revoked the order so rashly given, and had only the murderers punished. After this, the favor of Ibrahim increased to such a degree,

a degree, that Solyman, who was no longer able to do without him, gave this minister an apartment in the seraglio. Though all affairs passed under the eyes of the emperor, this prince no longer saw any thing but by those of his grand vizier.

J.C. 1527.
Heg. 933.

Ibrahim soon prevailed on his master to re-commence the Hungarian war. The following was the occasion of it. After the defeat of Mohatz and the pillage exercised by the Turks in that kingdom, John Zapoli, waywode of Transylvania, the secret enemy of the unfortunate Lewis II. and who had chosen rather to see him perish, than to come to defend his country, appeared at the head of thirty thousand men, when the Turks had retired from these dominions in which there remained nothing more to pillage. John Zapoli, besides great possessions in Transylvania, had likewise many considerable estates throughout the kingdom. For a long time past, his ancestors and he had been heaping up treasures, and the services which he had had in his power to render all the nobility and gentry, had procured him a party in Hungary. Zapoli was at that time the only one who possessed riches in this unfortunate monarchy, and he knew how to employ them for his interest. The waywode of Transylvania summoned in the plains of Racos, near Pest, all the nobility and gentry that had escaped from the defeat of Mohatz; and, scat-

J.C. 1528.
Heg. 934.

Troubles
in Hun-
gary.

John Za-
poli, way-
wode of
Transyl-
vania, is e-
lected king
by one
party.

I.C. 1528.
Heg. 934.

tering gold plentifully among these men, reduced to the most wretched indigence, he got himself elected king of Hungary, the reigning family being extinct. Stephen Battori, palatine of the kingdom, at the head of some noblemen and gentlemen, strongly opposed this election. He was equally well born with Zapoli, though less powerful. His dignity of palatine of Hungary, which made him mediator between the nation and the king, when there was one, ought to give him the highest rank in the interreign; but circumstances had raised the waywode of Transylvania greatly above him. He could never obtain the suffrages which he had solicited for himself. The palatine declared, in open diet, that this assembly was not lawfully assembled; that he, who had betrayed the nation, had there been elected sovereign; that Zapoli, who found both gold and troops to enslave them, had been unable to find either for their defence; that, being become their tyrant before he became their sovereign, he had founded his power only on the public misfortunes, and that it was not true that the crown of Hungary was vacant, for there existed ancient treaties between the kings Matthias and Uladislaus, on the one part, and the princes Frederick and Maximilian of Austria, on the other, which called the house of Austria to the throne, in default of male issue in the reigning race; that the archduke of Austria, Ferdinand, joined

joined to all these rights his marriage with the princess Anne, sister of the unfortunate king Lewis II.; that this prince, the brother of the powerful emperor Charles V. was alone capable of protecting Hungary and repairing its misfortunes. These complaints did not hinder Zapoli from being crowned at Albaregalis by the archbishop of Strigonia; but Battori, always pretending that the diet was illegal, protested a second time in quality of palatine of the kingdom, and summoned another diet at Presburg, where he assembled some nobles, who unanimously elected, for king of Hungary, Ferdinand archduke of Austria.

J.C. 1528.
Heg. 934

Ferdinand of Austria is likewise elected king by another party.

The Turks declare against him in favor of Zapoli.

Zapoli, who had had sufficient credit, courage, and money, to mount the throne, wanted all of them when they were requisite to maintain him thereon. He had never dreamed of such a powerful rival as the archduke of Austria. As soon as this prince was proclaimed, a great many of those who had elected Zapoli, and who served in his army, hastened to join the party of his adversary. On the news of Ferdinand's entering Hungary, at the head of a powerful army, John Zapoli, who already resided at Buda, not having been able to provision that place, was obliged to abandon it. The chiefs of his party pressed him to march against his enemy, but he betook himself to flight 'till Ferdinand came up with him in the plains of Tockay; this prince defeated what remained of the

J.C. 1528.
Heg. 934.

the army raised in Transylvania. King John, almost as soon dethroned as elected, sought an asylum in Poland with king Sigismund his brother-in-law. He had vainly flattered himself with finding succours there. Sigismund was neither sufficiently powerful nor rash to engage the states of Poland to try their forces with those of the house of Austria. He had no thoughts of undertaking a war which could only prove burdensome to him. King John, reduced to a private station, got acquainted in Poland with James Laschi, who, having formerly been sent on some negociations, was intimately acquainted with Lewis Gritti, the son of the doge of Venice, and who at that time resided at Constantinople. The Venetian ambassador pleased the grand vizier Ibrahim, and possessed all his confidence. The intriguing Laschi, informed of the credit which his friend Gritti possessed at the Porte, resolved to make use of it for the interest of king John. He desired permission of that prince to solicit for him secretly. King John, who would fain recover his throne at any price, sent Laschi to Constantinople, charged with the broken remains of his fortune ; for nothing is to be done at the Porte without presents. A great many of those, who remained attached to king John, blamed the step he was taking to call into his country the most powerful enemies of the Hungarian monarchy. But his ambition would not permit

permit him to reflect on the consequences. All <sup>J.C. 1528.
Heg. 934.</sup> those from whom he could procure succours appeared to him his friends or brothers. The Venetian ambassador introduced Laschi to the grand vizier, who, in the proposed expedition, saw at the same time both dignity and advantage for the Porte. It was worthy of the Turkish emperor to restore an oppressed prince his crown, and his interest to make that crown constantly tributary to his own. Moreover, as gold penetrates to the most inaccessible places, the subtle Laschi found means to interest for his master the princess, Solyman's sister, the wife of the grand vizier, whom this minister passionately loved, and the valid sultaneſs. (This is the appellation given at the Porte to the mother of the reigning emperor.) These sultaneſſes materially served king John. The archduke Ferdinand of Austria, who assumed likewise the title of king of Hungary, and who was effectively in possession of the kingdom, having learned the secret proceedings carrying on at the Porte in favor of his rival, sent an ambassador to the Turkish emperor, to remind him of the ancient treaties between the kings of Hungary his predecessors, and the sultans. Solyman would rather conquer a sovereignty from a Christian prince, than keep the engagements of his ancestors; besides, he anxiously desired to make trial of his arms.

Ferdinand's

J.C. 1528.
Heg. 934.

Ferdinand's ambassador was sent back almost without a hearing. It is true that the archduke demanded the restitution of the places usurped under Lewis II.; this was the pretext of the rupture. At the same time Laschi was invested the character of ambassador from Hungary. Having been introduced to the audience of the grand seignior, the prince solemnly promised him to protect his master, and re-establish him on the throne from which he had been so unjustly driven. These assurances restored courage to king John and all the secret partisans that he had in Hungary. These last assisted him with some money, with which he raised four thousand men in Poland, and he sent this little army towards Cassovia, to sound the country, 'till the forces promised him by Solyman came. Letterato, who commanded the four thousand Poles, defeated the few troops which the Austrians had been able to assemble against him. Ferdinand left Hungary to go and levy soldiers in Germany, and king John returned in arms to this kingdom, from whence he had been so ignominiously driven the preceding year.

J.C. 1529.
Heg. 935.

Meanwhile, the Turkish army assembled at Belgrade. Solyman, who designed to command it in person, repaired thither about the month of March. He found two hundred thousand men there, janissaries, spahis, timarians, gebeggis, bostangis, or asaps. Such an army was by no means

means necessary to conquer a kingdom where nothing had resisted him two years before. The sultan passed the Save, and went to Sirmich, where king John was waiting for him. He was received by Solyman with all the superiority that a Turkish emperor thinks he ought to assume over a Christian prince whom he deigns to protect. He gave him his hand to kiss, and assured him, that, he would immediately replace him on his throne. In other respects king John was treated at the Turkish camp with a great deal of magnificence; his table was sumptuously served. He had a guard of janissaries appointed for his person. Ibrahim, who reigned in the name of his master, shewed the king of Hungary the kindness and generosity of an equal, who serves his unfortunate friend. The Ottoman army advanced as far as Buda, without meeting with the least resistance. Nadafti, who commanded in the place, thought he should be able to defend it some time; but the officers of the garrison, frightened at the number of the enemy, surprised their general, bound him, and then capitulated with the Turks as if he had been absent. Solyman, having learned the particulars of this capitulation, either through abhorrence or a pretext for satisfying his cruelty, sent Nadafti to Ferdinand's army, and had all the garrison put to the sword. He left in Buda five thousand infantry and two thousand horse, to guard the place and

J.C. 1529.
Heg. 935.

Solyman conducts John Zapolli to Hungary at the head of a great army: he takes several towns, & miscarries before Vienna, which he is obliged to raise the siege of.

Y y

keep

J.C. 1529.
Hég. 935.

keep the neighbouring country in subjection; after which; he advanced with his army along the borders of the Danube, bringing with him his vassal for whom he conquered, and invested Novigrad and Comorra, which surrendered by capitulation. He took Altenburg by assault, and delivered it up to pillage: he likewise took Ovar, and all the fortresses on the Danube, in which there were only very weak garrisons. The Turks ravaged with excessive cruelty this country which they were not conquering for themselves. Meanwhile, Ferdinand collected forces in the circles of Germany; he had time to throw twenty thousand men into Vienna, a town better fortified than any of those which the Ottomans had just conquered, the barrier of the Austrian dominions, where he hoped to stop the torrent that had laid waste Hungary. And indeed this kingdom, already ruined by the Turks under Lewis II. was open on all sides to any one that would enter. There were no longer either fortifications, or soldiers, or provisions, or money. John Zapoli seemed designed to reign over a vast desert only.

J.C. 1529.
Hég. 936.

When the Ottomans had effectually ruined all these towns, the sultan marched to Vienna, where he did not arrive 'till the 13th of September. A continual rain had swelled the Danube, to such a degree, that, this river, overflowing its banks, had rendered the roads impassable, and retarded the march of the army. This obstacle, so favorable

able to Ferdinand, gave him time to provision <sup>J.C. 1529.
Heg. 936.</sup> Vienna, whilst the Turkish convoys were unable to pass. Solyman's tents covered all the plains around the city, and occupied more than six miles of the environs. This formidable sight no way frightened Philip, count palatine of the Rhine, who commanded in Vienna. His whole garrison had been proved in the wars of Charles V. and his artillery was well served: he made a vigorous and able resistance against these soldiers accustomed, for several years past, rather to pursue than to fight. The attack and the defence of Vienna were on both sides as smart as it was possible for them to be. Every thing that prudence or valour could suggest was made use of during one month and some days. Solyman lost forty thousand men there, and the besieged more than ten. At length provisions failing the Turks, who were unable to procure any from Hungary, and the season daily becoming worse, the sultan was obliged to raise the siege, whatever repugnance he might have, for it was impossible to prolong it. He had ravaged the environs of Vienna as much through necessity as hatred, and he did not abandon his enterprize, 'till his soldiers, worn out with hunger, expired in the trenches, which the continual rains filled with water, spite of every effort to keep them dry.

But Solyman, wishing to conceal from the enemy the disgrace of this retreat, set at liberty some

J.C. 1529.
Heg. 936.

He places
Saint Ste-
phen's
crown on
king
John's
head.

German prisoners, whom he caused to be magnificently clothed, and sent them back to the city, with orders to tell their commanders, that the sultan's real design had never been to take Vienna; that he fought Ferdinand, in order to decide, by a battle, the dispute of the crown of Hungary; that not having met the archduke at Vienna, he had just tried the valour of his soldiers, whom he had favoured because he esteemed them. After having thus disguised his weakness under a false appearance of generosity, he conducted his army back to Buda, where he placed with his own hands the crown of king Saint Stephen on the head of John Zapoli. This is the customary ceremony at the coronation of all the kings of Hungary. Solyman displayed on this occasion a pomp which formed a striking contrast with the misery of the people. He gave lessons of justice and lenity to this prince, whose dominions he had desolated before and after having acknowledged him for king of Hungary, recommending him to take care of his subjects, of whom he, the emperor, was dragging a vast number in captivity to Constantinople.

Bogdan,
prince of
Moldavia,
becomes
tributary
to the
Turks.

The sultan, on his return to his capital, lent six thousand Turks to king John, to maintain him in possession of the deserts bathed with blood which he left him master of. He gave the command of these troops to Gritti the Venetian, under the authority of John Zapoli. Solyman was endeavouring to forget the raising of the siege of Vienna,

Vienna, by felicitating himself with having given a kingdom, when he himself gained a sovereignty which he owed only to his reputation. Bogdan, prince of Moldavia, sent an ambassador to Constantinople, to offer the sultan to put his estates under the protection of his highness, in order to their becoming fiefs of the empire, on condition, that the exercise of the Christian religion should be preserved there, and that the two Moldavias should, at all times, be protected by the Turks. Soon after, prince Bogdan arrived in person at the court of the grand seignior; he presented, to his new lord, four thousand crowns of gold, forty mares with foal, and twenty-four falcons, engaging to pay the Porte yearly, the same rent as a mark of feudal submission.

The emperor received Bogdan with much distinction. He ordered the robe of honor to be given him, which is granted only to the first personages of the empire, and the cucca or tuft of egret's feathers, which the prince of Moldavia alone, of all the Christian princes, has a right to wear. Solyman joined, to the entertainments which he gave this prince, the circumcision of three sons, whom he had had by as many concubines; for the Ottoman monarchs no longer thought it consistent with their dignity to bind themselves by matrimonial ties. It is at the ceremony of circumcision, that the Orientals give names to their children. One of the princes

was

J.C. 1529.
Heg. 936.

J.C. 1530.
Heg. 936.
Festivals
on account
of the cir-
cumcision
of the em-
peror's
sons.

J.C. 1520.
Heg. 936. was called Mustapha, the second Mahomet, and the third Selim. Cantimar reports, that the Turks took for a very bad omen, that, in a combat of animals fought during this festival, a wild boar beat a lion, in such a manner, that this animal, in general so terrible, was obliged to flee. The Mussulmen look on the boar as the emblem of the Christians, and the lion as their own.

J.C. 1531,
1532.
Heg. 937,
938,
& 939. For two years, the sultan and his minister were busily employed about the maritime commerce, and arming corsairs against the knights of Saint John, whom Charles V. had just established at Malta in full sovereignty, under the simple annual acknowledgment of a falcon. These irreconcilable enemies of the Mussulmen had already armed cruisers to pillage their convoys and regain by degrees what they had lost by abandoning the isle of Rhodes. Solyman would fain have had it in his power to transport to Constantinople all the commerce carried on at Alexandria, Aleppo, and the other ports of Turkey. The love of the emperor for his capital made him wish to people and enrich it at the expence of all his other possessions.

Solyman
marches to
the assistance
of
John Zapolli;
he returns to
Adrianople
after the campaign
is over.

The affairs of Hungary recalled the sultan into that unfortunate kingdom. King Ferdinand of Austria, after having taken some places that were not defended, came and besieged king John in Buda his capital. He was on the point of taking his rival prisoner, and getting full possession of
the

the throne, when the troops which the bashaw of Belgrade commanded came to his relief. John, delivered from the greatest danger he had ever experienced, handsomely rewarded the bashaw; but the latter so inhumanly pillaged all the towns from which he had driven the Austrians, that, it is said, the unfortunate prince shed tears at the misfortunes of his country. Seeing that his protectors gave him occasion to hate them as much as his enemies, he endeavoured to make peace with Ferdinand of Austria, by offering him to divide the kingdom. Ferdinand was just made king of the Romans, consequently, intended to succeed Charles V. his brother, on the western throne. As he flattered himself with receiving assistance from this powerful empire, he did not think it compatible with his dignity to divide a crown, which, he boasted, belonged to him both by an alliance and a lawful election, with him whom he called an adventurer and usurper. In order to deprive him of every support, he sent an embassy to Solyman; but the Turkish emperor was the natural enemy of the successor of Charles V. He was interested in preventing the house of Austria from becoming too powerful. As much through interest as honor, he remained faithful to his word, and prepared, though slowly, an armament to secure Hungary to his vassal.

Charles

J.C. 1535.
1532.
Heg. 937.
938.
& 939.

J.C. 1533.
Heg. 939.

Charles V. on his side, assembled at a great expence a combined army from all the circles of the empire, and came to take the command of it in the plains of Vienna, where Solyman had published that he meant to try his forces with those of his enemy. But these two haughty rivals menaced one another only at a great distance: The grand seignior's army appeared rather late on the confines of Hungary; it was stopped at the siege of Guntz, where eight hundred Germans effectually withstood an army of more than a hundred thousand men. At length, after keeping the trenches open a month, despairing of taking this paltry town, he was obliged to leave it. He was not more fortunate at the siege of Strigonia. Some authors pretend that the grand vizier Ibrahim, who longed to make war in Persia, wanted to disgust his master with that of Hungary; and that he had also been corrupted by Ferdinand's gold. Be that as it may, the Turks, after having lost fifteen thousand men before the place, seeing the winter coming on, and new intrenchments behind those which the cannon had beaten down, retreated towards Adrianople. Charles V. who had been waiting in the plains of Vienna, made no advantage of the retreat of the Turks: taken up with objects more interesting both for him and his posterity, he repassed into Italy, leaving his brother Ferdinand ten thousand Italians only, who mutinied soon after. The Germans,
who

who followed the king of the Romans, had likewise these new enemies to fight. The kingdom of Hungary, consumed by the pretensions of these two kings, became the conquest of neither: both being deprived of the succours of their protectors, were constrained to divide what neither could take by force. They agreed, that both should retain the title of king of Hungary; that each should remain in possession of what he occupied at the time of the treaty; and that, after the death of John Zapoli, the whole kingdom should belong to Ferdinand and his posterity, except Transylvania, which should remain in full sovereignty to king John's eldest son. Solyman and the emperor of the West acceded to the treaty. The Ottoman monarch seemed to renounce his interest and policy; but we shall soon see that he did not consider himself bound by the agreement which two Christians had made between themselves. During the Hungarian war, or rather whilst the two emperors were deliberating if they should march against each other, Doria, Charles V.'s admiral, took Coron from the Turks. This town was given up at the peace in order to get Solyman to accede to the treaty.

J.C. 1533.
Heg. 939.

Agreement
between
the two
kings of
Hungary.

In the beginning of the year 1534, a war with Persia was resolved on. Ibrahim was determined to divert the emperor from the wars of the West, gained, as it is said, by the gold of the house of Austria, and retaining in the bottom of

J.C. 1534.
Heg. 940.

J.C. 1534.
Heg. 940.

Intrigues
in the se-
raglio.

his heart an ancient respect for the Christian religion, which he had once professed. He made a pretext of some hostilities which the Persian governors had committed on the confines of the empire. Though Solyman was always equally docile to the advice of his grand vizier, this powerful minister had enemies in the seraglio, and in the very heart of his master. The one was Zulema, the mother of the emperor, and the other Roxalana, the favorite sultaneſs. These two women, jealous of the minister's credit, often made use of the rights of nature and love, in opposition to the blind confidence which Solyman devoted to him. Though their discourse at first made but little impression, it was more than could be expected that the sultan would consent to hear them. Roxalana had still greater interest than Zulema to ruin Ibrahim, because this minister shewed an open attachment to Mustapha, the eldest of the princes, whom Solyman had had by another woman. The favourite sultaneſs was burning with desire of seeing one day one of her sons possess the throne of his father, to the prejudice of Mustapha his eldest, whom she particularly hated because he was born of her mortal enemy. The mother of Mustapha, whom history calls only the Circassian, had been passionately beloved by the emperor. This woman, imperious and jealous, perceiving that Roxalana attracted the eyes of Solyman,

Solyman, forbade the young slave, a Russian by birth, whom she thought she had a right to command, to dare appear again before the sultan. Roxalana, well knowing that the master's favor alone regulates rank in the haram, took no notice of her rival's orders. The Circassian punished her by tearing her face in such a manner, that the Russian durst not appear again before the emperor. Solyman, astonished at no longer seeing the young slave whom he already loved, inquired the cause of her absence; he had no sooner discovered it, than he fell into a violent rage, and having had the Circassian punished in her turn, he confined her in the old seraglio, which, since that time, is become the residence of the disgraced sultaneesses, and, in general, of all the women who are no longer capable of pleasing the sultan. From this day, Roxalana possessed alone the heart of her master, and she conceived a violent hatred for the son of the woman who had injured her.

The intrigues of the seraglio, which Ibrahim could not be ignorant of, induced him to exert all his interest to get his master away from Constantinople, and particularly to make use of his credit against the wishes of the sultaneesses, who were unceasingly repeating to the sultan, that the Persian wars had always been fatal to the Ottomans. There was at the Porte an old Persian satrap, who had been obliged to leave Persia in

J.C. 1534.
Heg. 940.

War with
Persia.
The Turks
take Tauris.

J.C. 1534.
Heg. 940.

consequence of some misdemeanor, and whose vindictive soul sought to carry the flames of war into his country. The vizier presented this man to Solyman; the Persian exaggerated the facility of conquering this rich kingdom, and promised the monarch to shew him how it might be easily effected. A magician, whom Ibrahim caused likewise to be listened to, declared, from the rules of his art, that the expedition would be attended with the greatest success. The musti said, that it would be a meritorious work to subjugate these corrupters of the Mahometan law, in order to punish them, or bring them back to the true belief. At length, Ibrahim made all, but the mother and the mistress of the emperor, speak to his wishes. The war was soon determined on. The sultan detached Calaman, the Persian governor who had offered to shew the way, at the head of thirty thousand men. This traitor, incited by his hatred, after having prepared the troops on the road that were to join Ibrahim who followed him, arrived before Tauris, which the governor presently abandoned, not thinking himself sufficiently strong to resist an army which fear increased in his eyes. Ishmael was dead: the throne of Persia was possessed by Tackmas his son. This prince knew, that the deserts which surround Persia are the most powerful fortifications against the invasion of the Turks. He ordered the few habitations that were there to be destroyed, and
sent

sent out an army of observation, with orders not to advance into the country. Tachmas hoped that the intemperature of the air and the dryness of the climate would overcome the Turks with more certainty than numerous armies. The Persian army remained under the cannon of Sultania, a town about eight days march from Tauris. The Ottomans, divided into two corps, followed at a small distance the flying camp of Calaman. The first of these two divisions, commanded by Ibrahim, arrived before Tauris twelve days after the surrender of that place. The emperor and his son followed six days after, at the head of the second. There were now two hundred and fifty thousand men in the environs of Tauris. Calaman was sent on a second time before, to discover the intentions of the Persians. This general, after a painful march, during which fatigue alone made him lose some of his men, found the Persian cavalry numerous and immovable under the cannon of Sultania; he had not troops enough to risk attacking them. The return of Calaman informed Solyman, that he must seek the Persians a great way off, before he could engage them. What had already happened in the Persian wars, happened to this prince: the Ottomans suffered in these deserts in proportion to the forces that they had brought there; even their precautions turned against them. The quantity of provisions and ammunition requiring
more

J.C 1534.
Heg. 940.

J.C. 1534.
Heg. 940.

more beasts of burden, the nourishment of so many animals became impossible. They were obliged to kill a great number of them to prevent their perishing through misery. The heat and drought, the insects, the aridity of the sands and the corruption of the meat, soon brought on scarcity, diseases, and all the inseparable consequences of so many scourges.

They advance into the deserts of Persia. The Persians march by another road, and recover Tauris.

Meanwhile the Persian monarch had his eyes open on his enemy, and congratulated himself on having already overcome him by his patience and good conduct. Whilst Solymán's army was wasting in the deserts of Persia, Tachmas, at the head of the best of his troops, marched by another road towards Tauris, in which he knew that the Turk had left but a very weak garrison. Whether the Persians were better able than other people to bear the intemperature of their climate and the aridity of their sands, or, what is more probable, that they were better acquainted with the country, and that it was easier to provision forty thousand men there than two hundred and fifty thousand, the king of Persia arrived fortunately at Tauris, and still more fortunately took possession of it in presence of the Turkish bashaw, commanding in the place, who could not persuade himself that it was possible for the Persians to arrive there, without having destroyed the Turkish army. He did not make the least resistance. The few troops that had been left under his command

command were presently dispersed; their general, who dreaded the chastisement of his cowardice, gave them the example of flight. J.C. 1534.
Heg. 941.

All these misfortunes afflicted Solyman, to such a degree, that he began to complain grievously of the enterprize in which his minister had so rashly engaged him. These were the first reproaches that Ibrahim had ever received from his master. He endeavoured to stifle them by procuring him conquests which cost no blood. Calaman, the Persian fugitive, the confident of the minister, who had advised still more than the vizier the war against his country, found means to corrupt his friend Mahomet, who commanded at Bagdad for the sophi Tachmas. The old seditious repaired thither in disguise; the gold and promises of Ibrahim, and the hopes of a government for life, whilst those of Persia lasted only three years, dazzled Mahomet; he promised to deliver up the town and all the country belonging to it. As the winter was approaching, Solyman dragged thither his languishing army. On his arrival on the borders of the Euphrates, which he found as fertile as the country that he quitted was wretched, he caused the remains of his troops to be cantoned there. The sultan received reinforcements from Alexandria, the two Syrias, Judea, and Comagen, the sangiacs of which flocked to him with their timarians. The pleasures of Bagdad made Solyman forget for some time what he had suffered
in

J.C. 1535. in the deserts of Persia; and as pompous titles
 Heg. 941, flatter the vanity of the Turks, he caused himself
 & 942. to be crowned at Bagdad king of that immense
 country, as if he had effectively conquered it.

The Per-
 sians wait
 for the
 Turkish
 army near
 mount
 Taurus,
 which they
 surprise
 and beat.

As soon as the rigour of the season was abated, the grand seignior, whom experience could not correct, and who ardently desired to engage Tachmas, began his march at the head of an army almost renewed, to seek this prince, who took the greatest care to avoid him. The king of Persia had employed the time which Solyman had passed at Bagdad, in laying waste more and more all the plains on both sides of Tauris. This prince no longer found either enemies or provisions but when he attempted to penetrate into Persia. Always combating the elements, thirst, and hunger, he returned to Tauris. And indeed, never was the sacking of a town more dreadful: they burnt whole edifices, in which a number of unfortunate people had in vain sought an asylum. After Solyman's soldiers had slaughtered at their leisure, old men, women, and children, to avenge themselves for the misfortunes which they had suffered, the army set out to return to Turkey. Tachmas had sent a corps of troops by the by-roads, which lay wait for the enemy at the foot of mount Taurus. The Ottomans, who began to find provisions, and who did not expect an army, were resigning themselves to disorder and the pleasure of pillaging; all their troops were dispersed;

perished; when they were attacked in the middle of the night. The fire which the advanced guard of the Persians set to the Turkish camp, only gave light to the carnage. The sack of Tauris and the loss of Bagdad were cruelly avenged. The Persians retired, loaded with almost all the booty which their enemies had made in their country, and dragging after them a multitude of slaves, horses, and beasts of burden.

Solyman, whom victory had 'till then always accompanied, severely felt this loss. He called to mind with sorrow the counsels of Zulema and Roxalana: he repeated often, that his women were more prudent and better informed than the vizier, the musti, and all the ministers and magicians of the empire, who had made him undertake a war rather against the elements than a powerful enemy; that near two hundred thousand men had perished in two years for the sole conquest of Bagdad, which he could not flatter himself with preserving more than Selim had done. On his return to Constantinople, the sultan was received with as much joy as if his enterprise had been crowned with the happiest success. The people ran out in crowds to meet him; he entered through the gardens of the seraglio, the ground of which was covered with precious carpets. The town was illuminated for several days; but this pomp could not calm the emperor's mind. The vizier had, in the seraglio of Con-

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

The two
sultaneſſes
accuſe I-
brahim, &
ſucceed in
having him
ſtrangled.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

stantinople, enemies more dangerous than those that he had met on the confines of Persia. Roxalana, after an absence of near two years, resumed all her influence over the heart of Solyman. The Turkish women are at the same time slaves and absolute mistresses. The obedience and fear in which they are brought up from their infancy render them only more powerful when they find means to please their tyrants. Roxalana, after having exaggerated to her master the torments which his absence and dangers had cost her, assured him, that his minister had a secret correspondence with the European powers, and that the interest of Ferdinand of Austria was the sole cause of this unfortunate war. The valid sultaneſs, Zulema, furnished the emperor with writings true or false, which the caresses of the subtil Roxalana made him believe such as they wished; among others, the dying declaration of the defterdar of the army, strangled a few days before for his misdemeanors. This officer, either thro' vengeance or the hopes of meriting forgiveness in the other life, had written at his death, that every thing with which he was reproached had been done by order of Ibrahim. The Turks place great confidence in the confession of a man who dies by the hands of the executioner. The grand vizier's death was determined on in secret between three persons, one of whom had loved, and the other two had feared him all their life.

But

But the emperor never thought of confronting his favorite, or furnishing him with the means of exculpating himself. Ibrahim had always had, and still preserved at the time of his condemnation, such an ascendancy over his master, that the sultan dreaded the presence of this servant whom he believed a traitor, and whom he consented to have put to death. The grand vizier was strangled while asleep, and never knew that his master had condemned him.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

The Persian war and the death of Ibrahim were not the only remarkable events of this period. Whilst Solymán was seeking conquests in Asia, kingdoms in Africa were conquered and lost in his name. This prince had always been jealous of the Christian marine, greatly superior to his, and particularly of the success of Andrew Doria, Charles V.'s admiral, who had taken Coron from him, a very important maritime place. Solymán had in vain sought among his subjects a rival to oppose to this celebrated mariner: not one of his seamen united the qualifications so necessary in this profession. At length, before his expedition to Persia, he found, among the Moors of Africa, what his own dominions had been unable to furnish him with. This great seaman was Aliaden, celebrated under the name of Barbarossa, sovereign, or rather usurper, of Algiers. We should give some account of this Moor, who acted so great a part in the

Barbarossa
comes to
Constanti-
nople. His
origin.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

history of Solyman. Aliaden or Barbarossa was the son of a potter of Metelin; he had one brother, and both, from their earliest years, had quitted the trade of their father for that of a pirate. They had both such great talents and courage, that, after having for a long time desolated the coasts of Spain and Italy, they subdued Algiers, which was only a receptacle of freebooters like themselves. Barbarossa's eldest brother became sovereign of these pirates, but died soon after without children. Barbarossa had no difficulty to succeed him, and he continued with his subjects, or rather accomplices, the piracies which formed the sole revenues of his sovereignty. Sinan bashaw and Ibrahim prevailed on this sovereign to come and serve their common master. Solyman promised to raise him instantly to the dignity of bashaw of the bench and captain bashaw, or sole bashaw of the sea. Barbarossa, who would rather serve the sultan than fight him, consented to leave Algiers to come to Constantinople. He brought with him another adventurer, whose pretensions might prove useful to the Turkish emperor. This was Alraschid the son of the usurper of Tunis. This petty kingdom, situated on the coast of Barbary, between Tripoli and Algiers, had formerly been purloined from the authority of the king of Morocco, by a governor, called Mahomet, who, having taken advantage of the Spaniards' victories over

Barbarossa
brings to
Constanti-
nople the
pretender
to the
throne of
Tunis.

over the Moors, had made himself independent. J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.
This Mahomet had had thirty-four sons by different concubines. The youngest, called Muley Hascen, in consequence of the absolute power which his mother had found means to usurp over a silly, unjust old man, was publicly declared his father's successor. On the death of the old usurper, Muley Hascen, being master of the liberty of his brothers, ordered them all to be put to death. One of them found means to escape, and fled to Algiers to solicit the protection of Barbarossa, who was already preparing to go to Constantinople. Alraschid, that was the name of the fugitive Moor, was obliged to follow the sovereign of Algiers to Constantinople, who promised him the protection of the most powerful of all the followers of Mahomet. Barbarossa's fleet was composed of forty-three vessels, part pinks, part galleys, which, throughout the voyage, pillaged the coasts. On his arrival at Constantinople, he presented the emperor with several young girls richly dressed and of uncommon beauty; he gave him likewise lions, leopards, and other African wild beasts; but the most considerable present of all was the person of Alraschid, whose pretensions furnished Solyman with a pretext for making himself master of Tunis.

The Moorish prince was received by Ibrahim, and even by the grand seignior, in the most flattering manner, so much so, that Alraschid did not

He sails
with the
Ottoman
fleet to
seize on
Tunis.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

not doubt but an armament which was prepared at a great expence, immediately after the arrival of Barbarossa, was designed to place him on the throne of Tunis. All his followers, and even the principal officers of the fleet, believed it as well as himself. But, the evening before the embarkation, Alraschid was arrested in the seraglio, so secretly, that only Barbarossa and three of his intimate confidants knew that the Moorish prince would not be in the fleet. The day of the embarkation, Barbarossa, going on board his vessel, followed a kind of covered litter, in which the officers whispered to one another that Alraschid was concealed. Thus, there were in the fleet three different opinions on their destination. Barbarossa and his most intimate confidants alone knew that they were going to seize on Tunis in the name of Solyman. A great many officers believed that the sovereign of Algiers was going to re-establish Alraschid on his throne, and the majority of the army thought, that it was intended only to ravage the coast of Italy. Barbarossa, who put to sea at the same time that Solyman set out for Persia, passed at first the phare of Messina, and caused so much terror in the kingdom of Naples, that all the peasants forsook the coast. He took some maritime places along the coast of Calabria; and having spread terror as far as Naples, and even Rome, he turned all of a sudden towards Africa.

The

The sovereign of Algiers, on his arrival at the fortress of Goletta, which defends the narrow entrance to the gulf of Tunis, sent an officer to the governor, to declare to him, that he had brought, on board the fleet, his lawful sovereign, assisted by all the forces of the powerful emperor of the Turks. This barbarian replied with sincerity, that he was the slave of events, and that he would acknowledge for his lawful sovereign him of the two sons of the last prince who should prove victorious. As it was impossible to land at Tunis without passing galley by galley under the cannon of the Goletta, it was highly requisite to get possession of that fortress. Barbarossa sent word to the governor, that he must take his choice between a smart attack and a large sum of money. The governor did not hesitate. As the fleet entered the gulf, the Tunisiens learned that a numerous army had brought them a new master. These people know no other way of fighting than as corsairs; their town, rich and extensive, was without fortifications. Muley Hascen, their king, with whom they were already dissatisfied, hoping to appease the insurrection which was raising in favor of his brother, came down from the castle, to speak to the multitude; but the fear of the Turks, their hatred of Muley Hascen, the love of novelty, and perhaps likewise a spirit of justice, spoke for Al-raschid. Barbarossa, who was preparing for battle,

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

He takes
Tunis,
more by
cunning
than open
force.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

He, presently saw the shore covered with a dis-armed multitude, who held up their hands to him, and filled the air with the name of Alraschid. The Turks debarked, crying, God blefs Solyman! God blefs Barbaroffa! The general, having entered the town as in triumph, hastened to get possession of the king's castle, around which there were some fortifications defended by artillery which commanded Tunis. The Tunifians, astonished at not seeing their new master, and at hearing only from the mouth of the Turks the names of Solyman and Barbaroffa, loudly demanded Alraschid. Barbaroffa, embarrassed, told the chiefs, that he was ill on board his galley, and that his situation would not permit him to be moved. The latter, beginning to suspect the truth, earnestly demanded to be shewn their sovereign; but when they were certain that Alraschid was not in the fleet, their indignation armed them, and they tumultuously cried that they would kill all these traitors. But these traitors were nine thousand warlike soldiers, well disciplined, who fell in good order on a populace without a chief, almost without arms, and consequently without defence. The cannon of the castle, which Barbaroffa had taken great care to get possession of, thundered on the town after a slaughter of some length: for the resistance of the Tunifians did not merit the name of a battle. Those, who remained, were happy to repurchase their lives, their

their fortunes, those of their children, and the honor of their wives, by an entire submission. Barbarossa then declared Tunis the conquest of the most potent emperor Solyman, and added, that, for the future, justice should be administered in his name there.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

The sovereign of Algiers, believing without doubt the fortrefs of Goletta impregnable, neglected to fortify the town. Muley Hascen, who had taken to flight as soon as he saw himself deserted by his subjects, never lost sight of his vengeance, or of the means of recovering the throne of Tunis. He implored the assistance of Charles V. This prince, jealous of the Ottoman power, was desirous, above every thing, to put a stop to the piracies which desolated the coasts of Italy and Spain. He sent immediately a Genoese to Barbarossa, charged with a double negotiation, which, though contradictory, equally fulfilled his object. The envoy of Charles V. had orders to offer the Moor the alliance of the emperor of the West, who would acknowledge him for king of Tunis and Algiers, and furnish him even with succours to make other conquests on the coast of Africa, on the sole condition of his holding his crown of that of Spain. But, whilst this negociator seemed to wish to detach Barbarossa from the interests of Solyman, he proposed secretly to the inhabitants of Tunis to drive out the usurper, and put the state under

Charles V.
vainly en-
deavours to
get Barba-
rossa driven
from Tu-
nis.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

He has re-
course to
force.

Muley Hascen, the son of their king, who had been king himself. The sovereign of Algiers discovered this intrigue, and, without respecting the law of nations, which the envoy of Charles V. had violated the first, he had him instantly strangled. The emperor, disconcerted, sent to the pope, the king of France, the king of Portugal, and Peter Dupont the new grand master of Malta, who had just succeeded the respectable Villiers L'isle Adam, to represent to them, that it was their common interest to drive the Turks, and particularly Barbarossa, from the coast of Africa. The knights of St. John, to whom the emperor of the West had ceded the sovereignty of Tripoli at the same time with that of the isle of Malta, could not regard Barbarossa but as a dangerous neighbour. The Order armed five large galleys and eighteen brigantines, which carried two hundred knights. each had two soldiers with him instead of servants; the pope furnished twelve galleys, and gave up the tenths of Spain for the expence of the armament. The prince of Portugal embarked himself, at the head of sixty vessels or frigates of war.

Charles V.
takes the
Goletta.

The rendezvous of all these forces was at Cagliari, a town in Sardinia, sixty leagues from the coast of Africa. Charles V. departed from thence at the head of three hundred sail, carrying twenty-five thousand foot and two thousand horse, without counting a great number of nobility

bility and gentry from all the nations of Europe, who embarked as volunteers. The emperor of the West landed in the month of June, after a fortunate passage, at Porto-Farina, formerly Utica, a town famous by the death of Cato. Meanwhile Barbarossa sought succours in Gerbes, Tremesen, and the other Moorish states, which furnished him with ten thousand men. He sent six thousand of them to defend the Goletta, the real and almost sole defence of Tunis. Charles V. soon invested this place by sea and land, and furiously battered in breach both from his fleet and the batteries that he had raised on shore. After several days, when the breaches were thought practicable, the emperor ordered four assaults at the same time. The knights of St. John, under the banner of their Order, marched in a body at the head of the first. The Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, attacked the three other breaches. The commander of Grolée and the knight Copier d'Hieres, of whom the one commanded the land forces, and the other carried the standard of the Order, gave to all their comrades the example of throwing themselves into the water in order to reach the foot of the tower and there plant ladders. Prodigies of valour were performed at all four attacks; at length, after an obstinate combat of three hours, the fortress of Goletta was taken by the Christians.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

The Moorish troops conducted their retreat so well, as to join the main body of their army after a considerable loss. Charles V. entered the Goletta with king Muley Hascen: "Here," said he to him, "is the gate by which you shall return to take possession of your dominions."

The Goletta is twelve miles from Tunis. Barbarossa was sensible that the enemy would not give him time to recover himself. His place was bad and unable to sustain a siege, especially against a victorious army. This general repented, when it was too late, of having trusted to a fortress which he thought impregnable, because he himself had been able to gain it only with gold. Barbarossa, who relied neither on the walls of Tunis nor its inhabitants, (for his government was not confirmed,) thought it best to bring his Turks with him into the open plain; but he left in the castle twenty-two thousand Christians of all nations, taken by him or the African corsairs who had attached their fortune to his. These unfortunate captives were heaped on one another in subterraneous places called bagnes, where, deprived of light, they suffered at once all the horrors of misery and servitude. The sovereign of Algiers, who did not like to leave behind him such dangerous enemies, thought it necessary to have them all put to death; but, by a spirit of equity which subsists between freebooters united by interest, he would
not

not dispose of the lives of so many slaves, without the consent of those to whom they belonged. The affair being debated in council, the avidity of these pirates, who flattered themselves with great ransoms, stifled their ferocity, and made them forget even their own preservation. Notwithstanding the advice of Barbarossa and his lieutenant, who repeated several times that they would repent of this imprudence when too late, it was resolved, that the slaves, well confined and loaded with chains, should be left in charge to the vigilance of their keepers, whilst the Moors should leave the town to prevent the attack. Barbarossa's army, ranged in battle, was neither equal in force nor courage to that of Charles V.: all those knights of St. John of Jerusalem, all those noblemen and gentlemen volunteers come from the different countries of Christendom, who longed to signalize themselves in arms, and of whom the taking of the Goletta had augmented the confidence; these squadrons of warriors, tried in the wars of Europe, were in much greater number than the janissaries and spahis, who did not form the half of Barbarossa's army, and who, serving under corsairs whom they hated, with Moors, of whom they neither knew the language nor the manner of fighting, despaired of the victory before they had begun the battle. Thus Barbarossa's little army appeared with all the confusion of a numerous body

of

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

of confederates: Victory declared in fact for the Christians; and whilst the Moorish general was endeavouring to rally his dispersed soldiers, to bring them back in order to Tunis, they perceived at a considerable distance white flags flying on the highest towers of that town, the gates shut, and the fire of the cannon from the ramparts, which were discharged on the first Mussulmen that presented themselves. All these signals announced the city's being in the power of the Christians. What Barbarossa had foreseen was come to pass. Though this able and cruel corsair had had barrels of powder placed under the slave-houses, and given orders to the guards to blow them up on the first suspicion of a revolt, these brave people had conducted themselves with so much address and prudence, that they were become masters of Tunis before their overlookers had suspected them of the least plot. A knight of Malta, a Piedmontese, commander of Turin, called Paul Simonei, had found means to gain over two renegades of the guard of the slave house. They had given him files, with which he had gotten off his irons. Simonei then took off those of his companions in slavery, when, with one common effort, they seized on their guard and the doors of their prison. They had no difficulty to find arms in a place the port of which was the rendezvous of all the corsairs of Africa. Though the fortifications of Tunis were not good,

good, they were sufficient to stop Barbarossa's beaten army, which found itself between two fires; the cannon and small arms, which played on them from the ramparts, kept the Moors from entering the town. Whilst Charles V.'s army was making a terrible slaughter of these dispersed soldiers, the Moorish general retired, with what few people he could collect, to the little town of Bonna, formerly Hypona, celebrated for the episcopacy of St. Agustin; and whilst the emperor was loading Simonei with honors, and replacing Muley Hascen on his throne, Barbarossa prepared to make sail for Constantinople, where he found Solyman just returned from his Persian expedition, which, as we have seen, had hardly been more fortunate than that of Tunis.

J.C. 1535.
Heg. 941,
& 942.

ERRATA.

- Page 4, line 4.—For *ravished*, read *ravaged*.
 7, line 6th of the note.—For *writers*, read *writings*.
 14, line 25.—For *finished by*, read *ended in*.
 18, line 1.—For *the*, read *their*.
 29, line 1.—Put a comma after *inclinations*.
 47, line 16.—For *injuries*, read *inclemency*.
 49, line 5.—For *offer*, read *present*.
ibid, line 24.—Put a comma after *perish*.
 77, line 2d from the bottom.—For *confide*, read *intrust*.
 121, line 28.—For *severity*, read *austerity*.
 133, line 27.—For *as far a place*, read *as far as a place*.
 141, line 11.—For *access*, read *excess*.
 160, line 22.—For *given retreat to*, read *harboured*.
 166, line 21.—For *guaranteed*, read *guarantied*.
 169, line 8.—For *confided*, read *intrusted*.
 184, line 3.—For *formed*, read *made*.
 187, line 18.—For *this*, read *the*.
 189, line 17.—For *desarts*, read *deserts*.
 217, line 12-13.—For *suchcours*, read *succours*.
 219, line 7th of the note.—For *confided*, read *intrusted*.
 287, line 14.—For *deficiency*, read *deficiency*.
 328, line 21.—For *drelate*, read *prelate*.
 334, line 27.—For *sister does*, read *sisters do*.
 344, line 5-6.—For *invested the*, read *invested in the*.
 354, line 22.—For *with desire of*, read *with the desire of*.



